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EASTERN

F.O.

371

1947

PALESTINE

File No. 347

5 pp. 5382

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61862

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CLOSED
UNTIL

1978

61862

E

1947

PALESTINE

E 347

10 JAN

2

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E347/347/31

B.O.

Command.

10 Jan 1947

Arab Boycott.

Palestine til 2170 of 23 Dec.

Dismisses the Boycott of Jewish goods
by Egypt, whose action is still one of
opposition to instructions conveyed in B.O.
til 1875.

Last Paper.

14/

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

61862

(Minutes.)

713.17/

G.A.P.P. B.O. til 1875 of Oct 3

713.21/

~~G.A.P.P.~~

(Action
completed.)

95/11/11

(Index.)

14/1/48

Next Paper.

E538

32003 F.O.P

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Reference:

FO

371

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INWARD TELEGRAM

E 347

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S. COLONIES.

D. 23rd December, 1946.

R. 23rd " " 16.20 hrs.

No. 2170 Top Secret.

My savingram No. 1737.

Arab boycott in Egypt.

Notwithstanding the (?opposite) instructions conveyed in your telegram No. 1875, there has been no change in the position. No reply has been received to representations made by Biggs personally on the advice of His Majesty's Embassy, Cairo. Egyptian authorities are flagrantly in the wrong and I urge that His Majesty's Government should bring this home to them and make it quite clear that unilateral discriminatory action of this sort cannot be countenanced.

2. Apart from the arguments already used in your telegram under reference, the attitude and action of the Egyptian authorities are indefensible. On economic grounds, Egypt would have much more to lose than Palestine if this Government were compelled to adopt official retaliatory measures, since the balance of trade over the past ten years is markedly in favour of Egypt.

3. At the Arab Higher Committee's first press conference held on 12th December, Doctor Khalidi is reported as saying that the Committee "had been able to assure consignment of goods to be despatched from Egypt that would remove dependence of Palestine Arabs on Jewish goods. Such imports would, in due course, also arrive from other Middle East countries under the direction of the Higher Committee, who would distribute them amongst consumers at reasonable prices. Arrangements were under way to make the boycott very much more effective than it had ever been hitherto".

Distributed to:-

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9 JAN 1947

SENT TO DEPT.

Distributed to:-

M.S.25
Secretary of State
Sir G. Gater
Mr. I. Thomas
Mr. Martin
Sir D. Harrie
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Bennett
Mr. Caine
Mr. Melville
Foreign Office

Mr. H. Beeley.

Reference

FO 371 / 61862

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pm. 4

INDEXED

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 3rd October, 1946. 11.15 hrs.

No. 1875

No. 1875

Following from Foreign Office addressed Cairo
No. 1733 2nd October repeated Beirut No. 716 Jedda No. 411
Bagdad No. 887 and Palestine. Begins.

Your telegram No. 285 Saving (of 10th September) and your despatch No. 1024 (of 20th September: extension of the boycott of Palestinian Jewish goods to transit trade).

Extension of the boycott to transit trade would appear from enclosure to your despatch No. 1024 to result solely from interpretation now placed by Director-General of the Egyptian Customs on instructions issued to him last January and I am concerned that this should happen at this juncture.

2. I shall be glad if you will take the matter up strongly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. You should remind them that His Majesty's Government protested against the boycott last February, when they pointed out that it was their duty to protect the interests of all sections of the population of Palestine irrespective of race or creed and expressed strong disapproval of any

/measures

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measures which discriminated unfavourably against firms or individuals in Palestine. His Majesty's Government have not in any way modified their view concerning the boycott, which they regard as a contributory factor to the tense state of affairs existing in Palestine to-day. You should go on to say that His Majesty's Government consider it most unfortunate that there should be an extension of the boycott to goods in transit through Egyptian ports at the very time when His Majesty's Government are seeking to find a moderate and equitable solution to the Palestine problem. Such action in an Arab state only strengthens the hand of those elements which maintain that no solution can be found through co-operation with the Arabs which will adequately protect legitimate Jewish interests in Palestine. You should therefore express the hope that immediate instructions will be given to the Director-General of Customs to cease the boycott of goods in transit. Ends.

Circulated to:-

Secretary of State
Sir G. Gater
Mr. Creech Jones
Mr. J.M. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Sir D. Harris
Mr. W.W. Clark
Mr. Caine
Mr. Melville
Mr. Wall
Mr. Bigg
Accounts Branch
Mr. Horne
E.301.
Foreign Office

- Mr. H. Beesley.

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E 538

16 JAN

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

FROM

E 538/347/31

No.

F. O. Minute

Dated

11 Beeley.

Received
in Registry

13 Jan 1947

16 Jan 1947

Arab Boycott of Palestinian Jewish Goods.

Reviews the situation re Arab Boycott of Jewish Goods, discusses possibility of retaliatory measures on the basis of existing agreements between I.M.G. and the Arab Govts. Also discusses boycott of transit visas for Palestine Jews wishing to visit or pass through Arab countries.

Last Paper.

347

(Minutes.)

See Mr. Howie's minutes within. We

can await the C.O. letter.

14.13.17/1

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

7/1/48

(Index.)

16/1/48

Next Paper.

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F Enter 6

Arab Boycott of Palestinian Jewish Goods.

E 538

16 JAN

1. In accordance with a decision taken by the Arab League in December 1945, the Arab Governments imposed a boycott on Jewish goods from Palestine at the beginning of this year. We have not received any information about the effect of this boycott since February, but the Colonial Office have informed me over the telephone that ~~the~~ Palestinian exports to the Arab countries in 1946 were 75% less than in 1945. The boycott is probably not ~~only~~ ~~the~~ cause of this decline; the Arab countries are now able to obtain commodities of better quality and lower price from their pre-war suppliers in Europe and America.

2. The High Commissioner for Palestine has on several occasions asked that strong protests should be made to the Arab Governments. H.M. representatives in the Arab States on the other hand have pointed out that such representations would probably be without practical effect, and have advised against making an important issue of the boycott.

3. In February last we sent a telegram to the Arab Posts, instructing them to point out that it was the duty of His Majesty's Government to protect the interests of all sections of the population in Palestine, and that they were therefore bound to express strong disapproval of any measures discriminating unfavourably against firms or individuals in Palestine. They were studying carefully the information at their disposal and, if the situation were to warrant it, would not hesitate to take such action as was necessary to discharge the duty devolving upon them as the Mandatory for Palestine.

4. In September the Egyptian Customs Administration extended the boycott to cover the transit of Jewish goods from Palestine. H.M. Ambassador was instructed to take up this matter with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and to ask that immediate instructions should be given to the Director General of Customs to cease the boycott of goods in transit. It does not appear that any reply to these representations has yet been received.

5. In October the Colonial Office asked us to examine the possibility of retaliatory measures on the basis of existing agreements between His Majesty's Government and the Arab Governments. As a territory under British administration, Palestine has most favoured nation rights under an Anglo/Egyptian Exchange of ~~Goods~~ in 1930. This agreement is however terminable by either party at short notice, and the Board of Trade were unwilling that we should be exposed to the risk of its denunciation by Egypt.

There are also trade agreements between the Government of Palestine and the

/Governments

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/Notes

Minutes.

Governments of neighbouring states, but it would presumably be for the Government of Palestine themselves to advise on the possibility of retaliation based on these agreements. It seems probable that Palestine itself would suffer more than the other parties from the further development of such commercial warfare.

6. Another question closely related to the boycott is that of transit ~~visas~~ for Palestine Jews wishing to visit or pass through Arab countries. The Governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq are pursuing policies in this matter which make it extremely difficult for many Palestinian Jews to carry on their normal business. Again it might be possible for the Government of Palestine themselves to retaliate by putting obstacles in the way of transit through the country by Palestinian Arabs, but I understand that the High Commissioner has hitherto been reluctant to take this step.

H. Beeley

(H. Beeley)
13th January, 1947.

I attended a meeting in Sir Gerald Clauson's room at the Colonial Office on the Arab boycott of Palestine on the 13th January at which the High Commissioner for Palestine was present. The High Commissioner pressed very strongly that we should not submit to the action of the Arab States in maintaining the boycott, especially in regard to the action of the Egyptian Customs Administration in stopping the transit of goods to and from Palestine. Sir Alan Cunningham also stressed the inconveniences arising out of the Arab States to grant transit visas to Jewish business men.

After discussion it was agreed that the best prospect of effective action being taken in this matter was to make an approach to the Arab States in connexion with the Convention on International Trade, the signature of which will be discussed towards the end of this year. The draft Convention contains provisions categorically prohibiting signatory powers from imposing boycotts or similar restrictions on international trade. The Lebanese Government were the only one of the Arab States represented on the Preparatory Commission which has just ended but there is little doubt that all the Arab States will wish to subscribe to the Convention. It was considered that we could well approach the governments of the Arab countries, possibly on an informal basis and point out to them the extremely awkward position which they will be

/ in

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Minutes.

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in at the International Trade Organisation if they are proposing to sign the International Trade Convention while at the same time breaking some of its provisions.

The Colonial Office will be writing to us on these lines as the result of the meeting.

R. A.

14th January, 1947.

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<div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">1947</div>	<div style="font-weight: bold;">PALESTINE</div>

<div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Registry Number</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">FROM</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">No.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Dated</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Received in Registry</div>	<div style="font-style: italic;">Arab Boycott.</div> <div style="font-style: italic;">Refer Palestine at 71 (E 646/247/31).</div> <div style="font-style: italic;">views on measures that could be taken against the Arab Boycott of Jewish Goods, from suggestions for an approach to the Egyptian Govt.</div>
<div style="font-size: 0.8em;">E 950/347/31.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">J. Clawson.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Colonial Office</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">79238/8/46.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">25 Jan 1947</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">30 Jan 1947</div>	

<div style="font-weight: bold;">Last Paper.</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">648</div> <div style="font-weight: bold;">References.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(Print.)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(How disposed of.)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Oft. Liaison Officer, Colonial Office.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(over)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">March 31</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Copy A.O.T. (Melman)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(over)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Mar 31</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">FLAG A in para 3</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">P.T.O.</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(Action completed)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(Index.)</div> <div style="font-size: 0.8em;">Next Paper.</div>	<div style="font-size: 0.8em;">(Minutes.)</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">Recd. in Dept. 22/2</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">pp. please.</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">H.B. 22/2</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">If we are to approach the Arab governments on these lines, we must brief H.M. Representatives adequately on the relevant draft clauses of the Trade Charter. I should be grateful if E.R. Dept. could supply material for this purpose.</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">H. Bealey 71</div> <div style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold;">The background to this is partly contained in the report on the attitude of the Lebanese delegation to first session of the Preparatory Committee (which I sent to Eastern Dept. attached to a minute on about 6th Feb, with copies of relevant reports attached. I suggested that E. Dept. should retain these reports, especially the blue report of the first session, for future reference.) The boycott of Palestinian goods of Jewish origin by Arab countries contravenes the following articles of the ITO draft charter (which is of course</div>
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course not yet binding on govt, since ITO has not been set up & no agreement signed or ratified)

FLAG B | Article 14. General m.f.n. Treatment (v. p. 28 of the blue report)
 Article 16. Freedom of Transit. } v. p. 54, Article 10.
 Article 23. Boycotts. } v. p. 56, Article 17.

But I should hardly have thought that we cd. usefully mention these I.T.O. articles to Egypt in any approach on this subject since

- The articles are still only in draft form.
- Egypt has had no part in formulating them, & is not — officially, at any rate — aware of their existence.
- They are not as yet binding on any govt.

He might point out in general terms that if Egypt persists in the boycott, it will be impossible for her to participate in ITO. Whether this will deter her from having anything to do with ITO rather than from continuing with the boycott is however open to question. I think these considerations apply to the other Arab League States, except Lebanon. The latter is ~~also~~, as Sir G. Clouston says, a member of the Preparatory Committee, and if representations are made to her it wd. be possible refer to the Articles mentioned above.

I think B/T shd. be consulted F.W. Martin 7/13
 before any action is taken,

beginning of the three Articles is which Mr. Martin refers are now attached to this paper. I note that they all establish obligations to "other member countries". (See marked passages). Would Palestine be covered by this phrase?

Assuming for the moment that it would, I have prepared the attached drafts.

Mr. Martin first F.W.M. 15/3

H.B. Selby

I have suggested in my draft that the relevant Articles should be mentioned in an informal approach to the Arab govt. I am not sure whether Mr. Martin will think that even this is inadmissible. H.B.

del Paris 819
 Bagdad 349
 Tel/A 199
 Beirut 274
 Damascus 222
 Amman 177

19 April

The obligation wd. be to U.K., as the mandatory power. The term U.K. here includes all territories for which U.K. has international responsibility. F.W.M.

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Minutes

I have amended the text of the boycotts article⁹ in Mr. Bradley's draft telegram to bring it into line with amendments made by the Interim Drafting Committee in New York. (Their report has just been received & is attached.)

I am a bit doubtful about the last two sentences of para 3. The first is true only if considerably qualified and the second does not quite represent the facts. The Arab states wd. not be disqualified from joining ITO, as I see it, because they maintained the boycott but if they persisted with it after joining ITO, the U.K., as the aggrieved party cd. complain to the organisation about their breach of Articles 14 & 23. If when the due procedure has been followed, ITO ~~upheld~~ the U.K. complaint, the Arab states wd. either have to drop the boycott or leave ITO. ~~As this wd. be the probable outcome~~

(I fear that the sentences marked * in my first minute over-simplified this point.)

With these considerations in mind, I attach a re-draft which I think represents the facts, but which is pretty weak from the point of view of providing arguments for an approach by our missions in the M.E. states on this subject. I fear this is inherent in any arguments based on interpretation of provisions whose wording is still not fixed & which are not yet binding.

However I request Mr. Barclay

2^o pago
45 & 127
para 5.

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

& which the Arab States still hope to get modified at Geneva in a way which will permit the anti-Zionist boycott.

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Minutes.

substitute my re-draft ~~be~~ — omitting the part in square brackets — for the last two sentences of para 3. & trio it out on B/T. They may well suggest stronger arguments. (Mr. Helmore is the man to send it to.)

I think Mr. Faircliff who has just returned from the Drafting C'ttee in N.Y. should see these pp. after the draft has gone to B/T.

Copies of the report of the Preparatory Committee, with commentaries, went to all the posts concerned except Jeddah under cover of our charming letter KLE 613/37/53 sent early in February 1947. It might be a good thing to refer to this in the Telegram.

FW. Martin

15/3

Now see draft as revised in accordance with Mr. Martin's suggestions.

Egyptian Dept. for

H.B. Bealey 19/3

I have now made a further amendment to the draft lib. in the light of Cairo lib. no. 704 and 707.

Draft initialled by Sir R. Howe

H.B. Bealey 22/3
H.B. 26/3

97

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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Minutes.

In P.P. Palestial 61 596 19/3 10

Letter from Mr. Milgrom, B.A.T.

Letter from Mr. Davies, C.O.

Tel. sent.

H.B. 18/4

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Reference:

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Registry
No. E 950/347/31.

Draft. no:
Cairo, Bagdad no:
Jedda, Beirut no:
Damascus no:
Amman no:

TELEGRAM.

Repeat to
Jerusalem and

B.M.E.O.
E 7628-1946-Flag A
E 9408-Flag B

No.

Date

Cypher

Cabinet
Distribution.

To C.O. for
communication

Egyptian Dept.

R 20/3

11/3. 19/3

24/5

1 blue C in left form
+ 2 finishes please

My telegram to Cairo No. 220 of the 10th February 1946. I should like you to make further representations to the government to which you are accredited on the subject of the boycott of Palestinian Jewish goods by the States Members of the Arab League.

2. Please raise the question informally in whatever way seems to you most likely to produce some effect. My following paragraph contains material which you may find useful in addition to the arguments contained in my telegram to Cairo No. 220 and also in my telegram to Cairo No. 1733 of October 2nd 1946.

3. The U.N. Preparatory Committee on World Trade and Employment held its first session in London in October-November 1946, and its second session will open at Geneva next month. The Preparatory Committee has in preparation a draft of a charter for the International Trade Organisation. In its present form the draft charter contains two Articles which are relevant to the boycott on Jewish goods from Palestine: (1) Article 14 imposes upon members of the I.T.O. the obligation to grant most favoured nation treatment to goods originating in the territory of other members: (2) Article 23 reads as follows: "No member shall encourage, support or participate in boycotts or other campaigns which are designed to discourage directly or indirectly, the consumption within its territory of products of any specific member country or countries on grounds of origin or the sale of products for consumption/

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consumption within other member countries on grounds of destination" The text of the article on most favoured nation treatment is unlikely to be substantially modified in future discussion. The article on boycotts has still to be fully considered by the Preparatory Committee of I.T.O. So far there appears to be general support for it, except that the Lebanese delegation have taken the line, both at the first session of the Preparatory Committee in London and at the Interim Drafting Committee in New York, that boycotts may be justified on political or moral grounds:

4. It appears therefore that the Arab states would not be able to reconcile a continuation of their anti-Zionist boycott with the obligations which they would undertake if they become members of I.T.O., and that they will in due course have to choose one or the other.

5. *[Cairo only]* / *Your telegram no. 704 and My telegram No. 1733. Has no. 707. In view of the new Ministerial Order, any action yet been taken as a result of your representations concerning the boycott on Palestinian Jewish goods in transit? If not, please take up this question again. In this connexion also the draft charter of the I.T.O. is relevant, since it provides (in Article 13) that "there shall be freedom of transit through the member countries via the routes most convenient for international transit for traffic in transit to or from other member countries".*

5. *[Amman only]* My telegrams No. 220 and No. 1733 to Cairo are being repeated to you.

Cairo please pass to B.M.E.O.

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E 950/347/31.

Cairo, Bagdad
Jedda, Beirut
Damascus
Amman

TELEGRAM.

Repeat to
Jerusalem and
B.M.E.O.

No.

Date

Cypher

Cabinet
Distribution.

12

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Downing

Street, 950

S.W.1.

30 JAN

79238/8/46

25th January, 1947.

SECRET.

My dear Howe,

You will remember that after our discussions with the High Commissioner for Palestine on measures that could be taken against the Arab boycott of Jewish goods, I promised to embody our views in a letter.

We agreed, I think, that although the Lebanon was the only Arab State represented at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Employment and although the draft Charter was still in some respects incomplete and would in any case not come up for ratification by the United Nations until the autumn of 1947, there were grounds for thinking that Egypt might be very sensitive to any representations made now which could show that the present Egyptian action prohibiting the transit of Jewish goods was totally at variance with the principles generally accepted by the Preparatory Committee. The Freedom of Transit Article (No. 10 in the American draft of the Charter) was, of course, not finally agreed by the Preparatory Committee but I should have thought there was sufficient agreement about the general principle of the freedom of transit trade to justify the assumption that Article 16 of the new draft, to be considered at the second session of the Preparatory Committee in the spring, will be of

- sufficiently generous scope to cover any representations we may make to Egypt. We should, I feel be on fairly strong ground with Egypt in this matter, since as you

have

Sir R.G. Howe, K.C.M.G.

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14A

have already pointed out to the Egyptians, (your telegram No. 1733 to Cairo) the extension of the boycott to transit trade results solely from the arbitrary interpretation placed by the Director-General of Customs on instructions issued to him under the boycott law; these instructions would appear to have no legal validity and this has been admitted by various members of the Egyptian Administration (vide the High Commissioner's savingram No. 1737 of the 25th November, 1946).

You will have seen from Palestine telegram No. 77 that the effect of the prohibition of transit traffic has chiefly affected the potash export trade and that, while the cumulative effect is probably not substantial, considerable inconvenience is being caused to small consumers in other parts of the Commonwealth.

On the general question of a further approach to the Arab States about the boycott, we encounter the same difficulties as those described above, namely that the boycott article (which is No. 17 in the American draft and will be No. 23 in the draft to be considered in the Spring) has not yet been put into final form. However we can, I think, take it for granted that the strength of world opinion against boycotts is such that an immediate diplomatic approach is justified. The Lebanon should be particularly vulnerable since they were members of the Preparatory Committee.

I think it was generally agreed that there was

little

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15

little prospect of the Arab States agreeing to make any gesture of sweet reasonableness in order to improve the prospects of the London conference, and that it was probably too much to expect any public declaration of withdrawal of the boycott, in view of the strength of feeling in those countries. You will, no doubt, consider, despite the above, whether your representations to the Arab States should include some appeal on general grounds of statesmanship to end the boycott. The steps we are proposing to ask Egypt to take would of course have the added merit that they would demand no formal public withdrawal by the Government of previous declarations of policy, and would merely entail the termination of an administrative irregularity.

Yours ever
Arnold Dawson

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

16
ARTICLE 14.

General Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment.

(1) With respect to customs duties and charges of any kind imposed on or in connection with importation or exportation or imposed on the international transfer of payments for imports or exports and with respect to the method of levying such duties and charges and with respect to all rules and formalities in connection with importation or exportation and with respect to all matters affected by the provisions relating to national treatment in Article 15, any advantage, favour, privilege or immunity granted by any Member to any product originating in or destined for any other country, shall be accorded immediately and unconditionally to the like product originating in or destined for all other Members.

(2) The provisions of paragraph (1) shall not be construed to require the elimination of any preferences in respect of customs duties and other charges imposed on importation, which do not exceed the preferences remaining after the negotiations contemplated in Article 24 and which fall within the following descriptions:

(a) Preferences in force exclusively -

(i) between territories in respect of which there existed on 1 July 1939, common sovereignty or relations of protection or suzerainty, or

(ii) between the territories comprised in Annexure A to this Charter. Each Member to which provision (i) applies shall provide a list of such territories, which lists shall be incorporated in a further annexure.

/(b)

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(b) Preferences in force exclusively between the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba.

(c) Preferences in force on 1 July 1946, exclusively between neighbouring countries.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
Reference: FO 371/61862					

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

17
ARTICLE 10.

Freedom of Transit.

1. There shall be freedom of transit through the Member countries via the routes most convenient for international transit for traffic in transit to or from other Member countries.

2. Any Member may require that traffic in transit through its territory be entered at the proper customhouse, but, except in cases of failure to comply with applicable customs laws and regulations, such traffic coming from or going to other Member countries shall be exempt from the payment of any transit duty, customs duty, or similar charge, and shall not be subject to any unnecessary delays or restrictions.

3. All charges and regulations imposed by Members on traffic in transit to or from other Member countries shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic.

4. With respect to all charges, rules and formalities in connection with transit, each Member shall accord to traffic in transit to or from any other Member country treatment no less favorable than the treatment accorded to traffic in transit to or from any other country.

5. Each Member shall accord to products which have been in transit through any other Member country treatment no less favorable than that which would have been accorded to such products had they been transported from their origin to their destination without going through such other Member country.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61862

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17A

6. Persons, baggage and goods, and also vessels, coaching and goods stock, and other means of transport, shall be deemed to be in transit across the territory of a Member when the passage across such territory, with or without transshipment, warehousing, breaking bulk, or change in the mode of transport, is only a portion of a complete journey, beginning and terminating beyond the frontier of the Member across whose territory the transit takes place. Traffic of this nature is termed in this Article "traffic in transit."

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

ARTICLE 17.

Boycotts.

No Member shall encourage, support or participate in boycotts or other campaigns which are designed to discourage, directly or indirectly, the consumption within its territory of products of other Member countries on grounds of origin, or the sale of products for consumption within other Member countries on grounds of destination. Moreover, each Member shall discourage, by such means as may be available to it, such campaigns by political entities within its jurisdiction.

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Reference:

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. E 950/347/31

Draft.

Cairo Bagdad
Jedda Beirut
Damascus
Amman.

Telegram.

Repeat to

Jerusalem and

B.M.E.O.

No.

Date

Cypher

Cabinet Distribu-
tion.

H.B. 14/13

E.R. Rpt. first

From 15/3 please

do attached re-draft
of 2 sentences &
minute.

Despatched

M.

19

My telegram to Cairo No. 220 of the 10th February 1946. I should like you to make further representations to the government to which you are accredited on the subject of the boycott of Palestine ^{ign} Jewish goods by the States Members of the Arab League.

2. Please raise the question informally in whatever way seems to you most likely to produce some effect. My following paragraph contains material which you may find useful in addition to the arguments contained in my telegram to Cairo No. 220 and also in my telegram to Cairo No. 1733 of October 2nd 1946.

3. The U.N. Preparatory Committee on World Trade and Employment held its first session in London in October-November 1946, and its second session will open at Geneva next month. The Preparatory Committee has in preparation a draft of a charter for the ^{International Trade Organ-} ~~I.T.O.~~ ^{isation}. In its present form the draft charter contains two Articles which are relevant to the ~~present~~ boycott on Jewish goods from Palestine: (1) Article 14 imposes upon members of the I.T.O. the obligation to grant most favour ^{at} nation treatment to goods originating in the territory of other members.: (2) Article 23 reads as follows. "No member shall encourage, support or participate in boycotts ^{or} ~~or~~ other campaigns which are designed ^{to discourage} ~~to~~ directly or indirectly, ~~the~~ the consumption within its territory of products ^{any specific member country or countries} of ~~other member countries~~ on grounds of origin

or/

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Reference: **FO 371/61862**

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

The text of the article on most favoured nation treatment is unlikely to be substantially modified in future discussion. The article on boycotts has still to be fully considered by the Preparatory Committee of I.T.O. So far there appears to be general support for it except that the Lebanese delegation have taken the view, both at the first session of the Preparatory Committee in London and at the Interim Drafting Committee in New York, that boycotts may be justified on political or moral grounds [that in the view of] and the Indian delegation maintain that a member should be temporarily allowed to discriminate against the trade of another member (e.g. by imposing a boycott) when this is the only effective measure open to it to retaliate against any discrimination practised by that member in matters outside the purview of I.T.O. pending a settlement of the issue through the United Nations. There As it seems likely that it will be impossible to meet these dissentient views without invalidating the basic principles of the Charter, it is probable that they will be overruled.]

It appears therefore that the Arab states will not be able to reconcile a continuation of their anti-Zionist boycott with the obligations which they will undertake if they become members of I.T.O., and that they will in due course have to choose one or the other.

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Reference:

FO

371/61862

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INWARD TELEGRAM

E 950 / 347 / 71

21
Enter
E

Cypher (O.T.P.)

INDEXED

FROM PALESTINE (General, Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S. COLONIES.

D. 19th March, 1947.

R. 19th " " 21.40 hrs.

No. 596 Top Secret.

Addressed S. of S.
Repeated Cairo No. 24.
" Damascus No. 357.
" Beirut No. 358.

My savingram No. 1875 of 13th December, 1946, not repeated to Cairo and Damascus.

Arab boycott.

As a result of discussion at the Colonial Office during my last visit, I understood that approach would be made to the Governments of Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon asking them how they reconcile their boycott of Jewish goods from Palestine with the provision of the Draft Charter of International Trade Organisation prohibiting boycotts.

2. I should be glad to learn whether this approach has been made and if so with what result. Jewish manufacturers are now pressing for the denunciation of Trade Agreements with Syria and the Lebanon.

Distributed to:-

MS. 25
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. I. Thomas
Mr. Martin
Sir D. Harris
Mr. Trafford Smith

Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Eastwood
Mr. Paynton
Mr. Bennett
Mr. Biggs

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Reference: FO 371 / 61862

57
22

31 ~~Feb~~ March, 1947.

May I refer to your letter No. 79238/

(From Sir R. Howe)

I am sending a copy of this letter,
with the enclosure, to ^{Helm}more
at the Board of Trade, ~~in case he may wish~~
^{also,} ~~to comments before the telegram is sent.~~
~~his~~

(Sd.) R. G. HOWE.

3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

H.B. 14/3
E.R. D. 15/3
Eggsplain / D. 20/3
W. 25/3

1284
2573

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References

TO

371

61862

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OUT FILE

23

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

31st March, 1947.

(S. 950/347/31.)

Dear Clauson,

May I refer you to your letter No. 79238/8/46 of the 25th January, on the subject of representations which might be made to the Arab States concerning the boycott which they have imposed on Jewish goods from Palestine.

We have drafted a telegram on this subject to His Majesty's Representatives in the Arab States, and I now enclose a copy of the draft for your concurrence.

I am sending a copy of this letter, with the enclosure, to Helmore at the Board of Trade, for his comments also.

Yours Sincerely

(Sgd) (R. G. Howe).

Sir Gerard Clauson, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.,
Colonial Office.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61862



Colonial Office,
Dover House,
Whitehall,
S.W. 1.

25

79238/8/47.

91-0 347 17th April, 1947.
21

17th April, 1947.

Dear Howe,

In Clauson's absence as Chairman of the wheat talks I am replying to your letter of the 31st March, E. 950/347/31, enclosing a draft telegram on the subject of the Arab boycott.

We agree to the draft, subject to the point made by McGregor and to the amendments, which owing to the passage of time, will now be necessary in the first sentence of paragraph 4, and which should presumably read, "its second session has now opened at Geneva".

I am sending a copy of this letter to
McGregor.

Yours sincerely,

Th. D. W. e.

(T.W. Davies).

Sir Robert Howe, K.C.M.G.,
Foreign Office.

[illegible]

Registry
No. E.950/347/31.

OUT FILE

My telegram to Cairo No. 220 of the 10th
February, 1946.

2. I should like you to make further
representations to the government to which
you are accredited on the subject of the
boycott of Palestinian Jewish goods by the
States Members of the Arab League.

3. Please raise the question informally
in whatever way seems to you most likely to
produce some effect. My following paragraph
contains material which you may find useful
in addition to the arguments contained in my
telegrams to Cairo Nos. 220 and 1733 of 1946.

4. The United Nations Preparatory
Committee on World Trade and Employment held
its first session in London in October -
November 1946, and its second session ^{is now} ~~will~~
^{in progress} ~~open~~ at Geneva, ~~next month~~. The Preparatory
Committee has in preparation a draft of a
charter for the International Trade Organisation.
In its present form the draft charter contains
two Articles which are relevant to the
boycott on Jewish goods from Palestine: (1)
Article 14 imposes upon members of the I.T.O.
the obligation to grant most favoured nation
treatment to goods originating in the
territory of other members: (2) Article 23
reads as follows: "No member shall
"encourage, support or participate in boycotts
"or other campaigns which are designed to
"discourage, directly or indirectly, the
"consumption within its territory of
"products of any specific member country or
"countries on grounds of origin, or the sale

Draft.

Cairo No. 819

Bagdad No.: 349

Jedda No.: 199

Beirut No.: 274

Damascus No.: 222

Amman No.: 177

TELEGRAM

Repeat to:-

Jerusalem and
B.M.E.O. Cairo

No.

Date

Cypher

Cabinet
Distribution.

To Colonial Office
for concurrence.

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Reference:

FO 371/61862

26A

"of products for consumption within other
"member countries on grounds of destination".
The text of the article on most favoured
nation treatment is unlikely to be
substantially modified in future discussion.
The article on boycotts has still to be fully
considered by the Preparatory Committee of
I.T.O. So far there appears to be general
support for it, except that the Lebanese
delegation have taken the line, both at the
first session of the Preparatory Committee
in London and at the Interim Drafting
Committee in New York, that boycotts may be
justified on political or moral grounds.

5. It appears therefore that the Arab
states would not be able to reconcile a
continuation of their anti-Zionist boycott
with the obligations which they would
undertake if they become members of I.T.O.
and that they will in due course have to
choose one or the other.

6. [Cairo only] Your telegrams No. 704
and No. 707. In view of the new Ministerial
Order, you should take up this question again.
In this connexion also the draft charter of
the I.T.O. is relevant, since it provides
(in Article 16) that "there shall be freedom
"of transit through the member countries via
"the routes most convenient for international
"transit for traffic in transit to or from
"other member countries".

6. [Amman only] My telegrams No. 220
and No. 1733 to Cairo are being repeated to
you.

Cairo please pass to B.M.E.O. as my
No. 404.

H.B. 19/4

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OUT FILE

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

E.950/347/31

Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO NO. 819
BAGDAD NO. 349
JEDDA NO. 199
BEIRUT NO. 274
DAMASCUS NO. 222
AMMAN NO. 177

19th April 1947. D. 3.30 a.m. 21st April 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem
B.M.E.O. Cairo No. 404

V V V

My telegram to Cairo No. 220 of the 10th February 1946.

2. I should like you to make further representations to the Government to which you are accredited on the subject of the boycott of Palestinian Jewish goods by the States Members of the Arab League.

3. Please raise the question informally in whatever way seems to you most likely to produce some effect. My following paragraph contains material which you may find useful in addition to the arguments contained in my telegrams to Cairo Nos. 220 and 1733 of 1946.

4. The United Nations Preparatory Committee on World Trade and Employment held its first session in London in October-November 1946, and its second session is now in progress at Geneva. The Preparatory Committee has in preparation a draft of a charter for the International Trade Organisation. In its present form the draft charter contains two Articles which are relevant to the boycott on Jewish goods from Palestine; (1) Article 14 imposes upon members of the I.T.O. the obligation to grant most favoured nation treatment to goods originating in the territory of other members; (2) Article 23 reads as follows: "No member shall encourage, support or participate in boycotts or other campaigns which are designed to discourage, directly or indirectly, the consumption within its territory of products of any specific member country or countries on grounds of origin, or the sale of products for consumption within other member countries on grounds of destination". The text of the article

/most

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most favoured nation treatment is unlikely to be substantially modified in future discussion. The article on boycotts has still to be fully considered by the Preparatory Committee of I.T.O. So far there appears to be general support for it, except that the Lebanese delegation have taken the line, both at the first session of the Preparatory Committee in London and at the Interim Drafting Committee in New York, that boycotts may be justified on political or moral grounds.

5. It appears therefore that the Arab states would not be able to reconcile a continuation of their anti-Zionist boycott with the obligations which they would undertake if they become members of I.T.O. and that they will in due course have to choose one or the other.

6. [Cairo only]. Your telegrams No. 704 and No. 707. In view of the new Ministerial Order, you should take up this question again. In this connexion also the draft charter of the I.T.O. is relevant, since it provides (in Article 16) that "there shall be freedom of transit through the member countries via the routes most convenient for international transit for traffic in transit to or from other member countries".

6. [Amman only]. My telegrams No. 220 and No. 1733 to Cairo are being repeated to you.

Cairo please pass to B.M.E.O. as my telegram No. 404.

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Reference:

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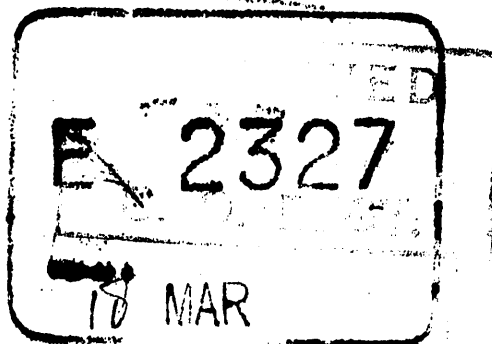
S. 7. 1947

From the Officer Administering the Government of Palestine.

To the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Date.....7.3.47.....

No.....258.....Saving. (Route L)



My telegram No. 475 in reply to
your telegram No. 416 regarding trade with
Arab states. Import and export figures are
set out in attached table.

Colonial Office No. 79238/8/47
Vice Consul, the U.S. of S.
Colonial Office.

Date 15.3.47

Reference

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1	2	3	4	5	6	Reference: FO 371/61862					

31

STATISTICS OF TRADE WITH PALESTINE
(excluding crude oil from imports and refined petroleum products from exports)

Year	IRAQ		SYRIA		EGYPT		TRANS-JORDAN		ARABIA		Total for Arab States		Total Import	Total Export
	Imports £.	Exports £.	Imports £.	Exports £.	Imports £.	Exports £.	Imports £.	Exports £.	Imports £.	Exports £.	Imports from	Exports to	into Palestine	from Palestine
1937	361,160	12,049	1,374,450	625,258	630,520	99,243	(a)	(a)	9,896	1,449	2,376,026	737,999	15,903,666	5,813,536
1938	172,835	8,326	1,014,953	412,825	405,209	101,725	(a)	(a)	8,988	3,339	1,601,985	526,215	11,356,963	5,020,368
1939	206,858	5,498	1,355,203	389,223	599,648	97,350	(a)	(a)	15,353	2,287	2,177,062	494,358	14,632,822	5,117,769
1940	397,134	15,304	501,966	244,329	1,388,084	170,770	(a)	(a)	19,474	1,618	2,306,658	432,021	11,809,483	2,820,848
1941	392,734	23,471	395,216	148,647	1,677,155	580,589	285,142	119,618	210,379	86	2,960,626	872,411	12,372,496	2,731,167
1942	641,471	103,603	678,606	281,784	1,034,719	429,443	673,911	198,003	438,466	368	3,467,173	1,013,201	19,746,040	3,712,619
1943	766,890	489,029	1,459,590	469,436	2,011,004	631,762	2,172,138	550,635	493,804	2,180	6,903,426	2,143,042	20,221,016	7,354,311
1944	3,329,415	383,774	1,400,184	452,641	2,098,600	742,867	1,440,627	598,316	222,570	37,273	8,491,396	2,214,871	27,904,198	10,107,391
1945	2,913,565	670,059	1,623,008	1,063,157	1,312,921	1,114,310	1,783,194	657,764	155,937	44,288	7,788,625	3,549,578	31,192,911	13,907,608
1946	1,890,728	39,945	3,145,953	317,247	1,620,091	309,175	1,697,037	519,633	144,142	21,127	8,497,951	1,207,127	57,689,123	14,780,852

(a) = Prior to July 1941, no statistics of Imports or Exports were compiled

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Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

33

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir R. Campbell.
No. 704.

D. 8.47 a.m. 19th March 1947.

19th March 1947.

R. 10.45 a.m. 19th March 1947.

Repeated to: Jerusalem
and Saving other Arab posts.

W:W:W:W:W

IMPORTANT.

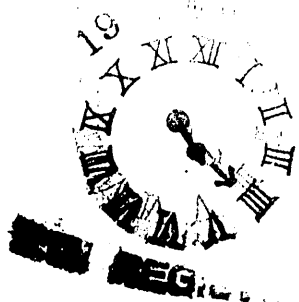
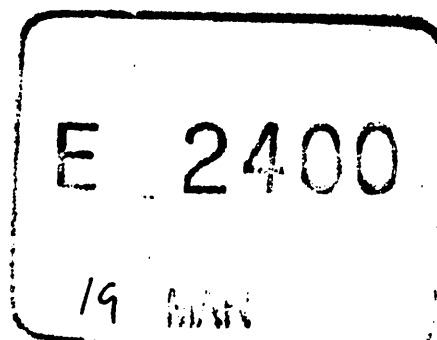
Your telegram No. 1733 of 1946: *E9408/4/21*

Arab boycott of Jewish merchandise.

I have had no reply to my letter of protest of 12th October but following these representations and discussions between Palestine Government Agent, the Palestine Government Director of Commerce and Industry, the Egyptian Minister of Finance and senior officials the extension to transit [? gp. omitted] appeared to have been withdrawn and no complaints were subsequently received.

2. Now see however ministerial order reported in my immediately following telegram.

7707



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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

E

E 2403

21 MAR

34

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 2453/347/31

Sir R. Campbell

Cairo

YOT

19. 11. 1947

21. - -

Arab Boycott.

Rpts Cairo tel 10th (E 2400/347/31) transmits
translation of order 12 of Minister of Finance
published in Arabic Official Journal March 10
is the discharge is also prohibited of goods made
or coming from Palestine in transit in all
Egyptian ports including Free Zones which
have

Last Paper.

2400

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

See E 2400 and E 950

Report to C.O. and B.C.T.

Egyptian Dept. 24/4

E.A. Dept. Form 25/4

H.B. 22/3

an P.P. Beirut tel 289 17/4

12 Apr. 23

(Action
completed.)

E 2400/6

(Index.)

10/1/48

Next Paper.

E 2902

32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:

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371/61862

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DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R.I.Campbell, D. 5.55 p.m, 19th March,1947.
No.707
19th March,1947. R. 8.55 p.m. 19th March,1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Saving to other Arab posts.

2483

My telegram No.704.

Following is translation of order No.12 of Minister
of Finance published in Arabic Official Journal March
10th.

[Begins].

Article No. 1B. Following new paragraph is added
to Article 1 of Ministerial Order No.121 of 1945.

The discharge is also prohibited of goods made
in or coming from Palestine in transit in all Egyptian
ports including Free Zones in such ports.

Article 2. This order comes into force on date
of publication in the Official Journal.

[Ends].

21
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21

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E 36
INDEXED

Cypher/OTP

FILES

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houstoun Boswall.
No. 289.

17th April 1947.

D. 6.50. p.m.
17th April 1947.
R. 9.00. p.m.
17th April 1947.

.....
Your telegram No. 260.

Reference was to Cairo telegram No. 707 to Foreign Office as cyphered. It only took two weeks (not three) to reach me. Error regretted. My idea was to link severally Egypt embargo measures with Iraqi proposals.

[Note by Telegram Section. Reference telegram was sent by this Department and not copied. It requested repetition of reference in Beirut telegram No. 256.]

2901/347/11
[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat.]

10 Apr. 22

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

E

E 2902

7 APR

37

1947

PALESTINE

Registry
Number

E2902/347/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Houston Boswell

No.

Beirut

Dated

256

Received
in Registry

3 Apr 47

Arab Boycott.

Refers to Cairo tel No. 707 (E2483/347/31).
Minister for Foreign Affairs commented on
the immoderate language used by Azzam
in his letter to the U.S. He considered it
sufficient for the Arab League to pass an
appropriate resolution and take such steps as
were considered necessary to defend Arab cause.

Last Paper.

E2483

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

See Sir O. Sargent's minutes on attached
copy. The reference is evidently wrong, and
Communications Dept. have sent a query
to ~~Beirut~~ Beirut.

H.B. Beeley 11/4

H.B. 24/4

(Action
completed.)

JIM 24/4

(Index.)

10/9/48

Next Paper.

E 3038

32003 F.O.P.

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1	2	3	4	5	6

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICEMr. Houstoun Boswall.
No. 256.

D. 2.50 p.m. 3rd April, 1947.

3rd April, 1947.

R. 8.50 a.m. 4th April, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo,
Bagdad,
Jerusalem (Jerusalem please pass to Amman as
my telegram No. 41)
Jedda, SAVING
Damascus - SAVING.

X
Cairo telegram No. 707 to you.

Palestine.

Unfortunately, I had not seen this telegram (which took three weeks to reach me by bag from Cairo) when the Minister for Foreign Affairs told me this morning of the line he had taken in the Arab League, principally in regard to the Palestine question, about which he feels very strongly indeed. The Council had been confronted with a letter to the United States Government drafted by Azzam in immoderate language about President Truman's attitude on the subject of Jewish immigrants. The Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs had pointed out that it was not suitable for the Secretary General to address such notes to any country [grp. undec. ? as] every member of the League had its own foreign Ministry, moreover it was not fitting for any Arab State to address itself to a country like the United States in such offensive language. He had gone on to explain that as His Majesty's Government had in their wisdom referred the whole question to the United Nations, it was sufficient for the Arab League to pass an appropriate resolution and to take such steps as members might consider necessary to defend the Arab cause before the United Nations. He had not approved of the Iraqi suggestion that British and American oil and other interests should be the object of economic reprisals and had said that the Lebanon would definitely dissociate itself from any base scheme.

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Reference:

FO 371/61862

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Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

39
E 2902

Mr. Houstoun Boswall.
No. 256.

D. 2.50 p.m. 3rd April, 1947.

3rd April, 1947.

R. 8.50 a.m. 4th April, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo,
Bagdad,
Jerusalem (Jerusalem please pass to Amman as
my telegram No. 41)
Jedda, Saving
Damascus - Saving.

Cairo telegram No. 707 to you.

Palestine.

Unfortunately, I had not seen this telegram (which took three weeks to reach me by bag from Cairo) when the Minister for Foreign Affairs told me this morning of the line he had taken in the Arab League, principally in regard to the Palestine question, about which he feels very strongly indeed. The Council had been confronted with a letter to the United States Government drafted by Azzam in immoderate language about President Truman's attitude on the subject of Jewish immigrants. The Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs had pointed out that it was not suitable for the Secretary General to address such notes to any country [grp. undec. ? as] every member of the League had its own foreign Ministry, moreover it was not fitting for any Arab State to address itself to a country like the United States in such offensive language. He had gone on to explain that as His Majesty's Government had in their wisdom referred the whole question to the United Nations, it was sufficient for the Arab League to pass an appropriate resolution and to take such steps as members might consider necessary to defend the Arab cause before the United Nations. He had not approved of the Iraqi suggestion that British and American oil and other interests should be the object of economic reprisals and had said that the Lebanon would definitely dissociate itself from any base scheme.

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Reference:

FO

371 / 61862

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12

E

E 3038

40

1947

PALESTINE

11 APR

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 3038/347/31

Mr. Houstoun-
Boswell

Beirut 269

9 April 1947

11

Palestine Arab League Meeting.
Refr. Beirut tel 256 (E 2902/347/31)
States' President of Republic will formally meeting
Arabian President at GHATHIRA with members
of their respective Governments to discuss special
meeting of Arab League to consider Palestine
Question.

Last Paper.

2902.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Del. Beirut 267.
Rptd. Paris 795
Bogdad 374
Damascus 217
Iddra 196
Amman 174
Jerusalem 298
10150

8/80. April 16.

✓ April 18

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

3554

(Minutes.)

See minutes on E 2902. We have not
yet received the correction of the reference in
Beirut tel. no. 256. This increases the
difficulty of understanding the telegram
within (See Sir O. Sargent's minute on the
copy now entered).

We know that the Arabs dislike the
idea of a United Nations Committee on
Palestine. It may be that the question
they are trying to put to Mr. Houstoun-
Boswell is: Should the Arabs press for
a vote on the question of substance at
the special session, thus making
unnecessary the proposed Committee? This
interpretation seems to be supported by

/Gidda

32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO

371

61862

40A

Judea telegram no 162 (E3112), though
that also is not very clear.

I submit a draft, which should
go off urgently if it is
to be of use.

H.B. 16/4

L. 16/4

H.B. 16/4

b. v. a. a.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO

371

61862

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houstoun Boswall
No. 269
April 9th, 1947.

D. 4.55 p.m. April 9th, 1947.
R. 9.15 a.m. April 10th, 1947.

R. Repeated to Cairo
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Amman (Jerusalem please pass as my telegram No. 42)
Jedda
Damascus Saving

SSSSS

SECRET

My telegram No. 256.

Palestine.

President of the Republic confirmed to me to-day that he would shortly be meeting the Syrian President at Chtaura with members of their respective Governments to discuss special meeting of Arab League to consider Palestine question. Leben would press strongly for the meeting to be held at Damascus as the present electoral campaign would make it difficult for the Ministers to absent themselves for a long time at such a distance as Cairo. His Excellency asked me whether Leben should urge the Syrians to press for a special session of United Nations or wait for ordinary session in September. I said I thought His Majesty's Government would prefer that the case should be taken in September as had been suggested. I also gave it as my personal opinion that it might be to the advantage of all concerned not to rush matters partly because there was always albeit slight hope that tempers might cool in the interval, although it was not impossible that the situation might deteriorate for all I knew. Nevertheless it would surely be to the advantage of the Arab States to have four months in which thoroughly to prepare their case for presentation to the United Nations, who would be acting in the capacity of an impartial tribunal and who would expect all aspects of the question to be submitted in a carefully reasoned and logical manner. 3

Mr. H. is an
error in
deciphering.

Don't know
if it is
intended
to make a special
arrangement

E 3038

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houstoun Boswall
No. 269

April 9th, 1947.

D. 4.55 p.m. April 9th, 1947.

R. 9.15 a.m. April 10th, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo

Bagdad

Jerusalem

Amman (Jerusalem please pass as my telegram No.42)

Jedda

Damascus Saving

SSSSS

SECRET

My telegram No. 256.

Palestine.

President of the Republic confirmed to me to-day that he would shortly be meeting the Syrian President at Chtaura with members of their respective Governments to discuss special meeting of Arab League to consider Palestine question. Leben would press strongly for the meeting to be held at Damascus as the present electoral campaign would make it difficult for the Ministers to absent themselves for a long time at such a distance as Cairo. His Excellency asked me whether Leben should urge the Syrians to press for a special session of United Nations or wait for ordinary session in September. I said I thought His Majesty's Government would prefer that the case should be taken in September as had been suggested. I also gave it as my personal opinion that it might be to the advantage of all concerned not to rush matters partly because there was always albeit slight hope that tempers might cool in the interval, although it was not impossible that the situation might deteriorate for all I knew. Nevertheless it would surely be to the advantage of the Arab States to have four months in which thoroughly to prepare their case for presentation to the United Nations, who would be acting in the capacity of an impartial tribunal and who would expect all aspects of the question to be submitted in a carefully reasoned and logical manner.

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Reference: FO

371/61862

Registry
No. E 303/347/31.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

H.B.

Draft.

Beirut.

Telegram.

No. 267

(Date) April 16th

immediate
Repeat to:—

Cairo, ✓ 395
Bagdad, ✓ 334
Damascus, ✓ 217
Jedda, ✓ 196
Amman, ✓ 174
Jerusalem, ✓ 174
B.M.E.O., ✓ 398

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

~~Exhibit.~~

~~Code.~~

Cypher.

Distribution:—

Departmental No.2.

Copies to:—

C.O.

OUT FILE

R30A

F.O.,

[B]
43

IMMEDIATE

[Cairo only] (Please pass to B.M.E.O. as
MYTEL 398 immediate)
Despatched M.

Your telegram No. 269 and Jedda telegram
No. 162 [Arab States and Reference of Palestine
to United Nations].

I do not quite understand what the Lebanese
President means by "pressing for a special
session of the United Nations or waiting for
the ordinary session in September". The
Secretary General invited the approval of the
member states for ~~this~~ special session in a
circular telegram dated the 2nd April, and it
should already have been clear to His Excellency
that a special session was inevitable.

2. Nor do I understand the ~~distinction drawn~~ *antithesis*
by Yusuf Yassin between a preparatory committee
on Palestine and a special session of the General
Assembly (Jedda telegram No. 162, paragraph 1).
The special session has been convened for the
explicit purpose of setting up a preparatory
committee. *See my tel. to Bagdad no. 293.* /3/

3. If what ~~representatives~~ *the Arabs* have in mind is
to initiate, at the special session *of the General Assembly* on 28th
April, a discussion on the substance of the
Palestine problem, there is of course nothing
to prevent ~~from~~ *them* proposing additions to the
agenda. Such additions however can *(be made)* under the
Assembly's rules, ~~be made~~ only with the consent
of a two-thirds majority.

4. If H.M. Representatives in the Arab
countries are approached on the lines of
paragraph 3 above, I ~~hope~~ *should* they ~~will~~ point out
that the special session of the Assembly has been
convened for the purpose of taking a purely
procedural

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61862

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procedural decision; that its agenda can be enlarged only by ~~the~~ ^a two-thirds vote of its members; and that such a vote in favour of discussing ^{the} Palestine problem in ^{substance} ~~consequence~~ is highly improbable, since most of the member states are to be represented by their permanent delegates in New York or by their representatives in Washington, ^{who} ~~and~~ will claim that they are not ^{owed} ~~entitled~~ for a discussion on such substance.

8. It is not ^{by any means certain} ~~altogether accurate~~ to say that the Arab States will have four months in which to prepare their case for presentation to the United Nations. ~~If the preparatory committee is appointed,~~ it will probably start work some time in June, and may ask for a statement of the Arab case ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ a fairly early stage in its deliberations.

6. ~~See also my telegram to Cairo No. 47.~~

3. If the position is not already clear to the Arab governments, I hope it will be explained to them before their Foreign Ministers meet on the 19th April. It would also be useful if H.M. Representatives could speak on the lines of ~~from~~ my telegram to Cairo no [47], paragraph 2.

4. As regards the last sentence of your telegram no. 269, it should be realised that, if the preparatory committee referred to in paragraph 2 above is set up by the Special Assembly, it

43A

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1	2	3	4	5	6

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

H.B. 169/4

444
OUT FILE

E 303/347/31

Secret

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BEIRUT

No. 267

D. 12.30 a.m. 17th April, 1947

16th April, 1947.

Repeated Immediate to Cairo No. 795
Bagdad No. 334
Damascus No. 217
Jedda No. 196
Amman No. 174
Jerusalem
British Middle East Office,
Cairo No. 398

.....

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

[Cairo only] (Please pass to British Middle East Office as my telegram No. 398 Immediate).

Your telegram No. 269 and Jedda telegram No. 162
[Arab States and Reference of Palestine to United Nations].

I do not quite understand what the Lebanese President means by "pressing for a special session of the United Nations or waiting for the ordinary session in September". The Secretary General invited the approval of the member states for a special session in a circular telegram dated the 2nd April, and it should already have been clear to His Excellency that a special session was inevitable.

2. Nor do I understand the antithesis between a preparatory committee on Palestine and a special session of the General Assembly (Jedda telegram No. 162, paragraph 1). The special session has been convened for the explicit purpose of setting up a preparatory committee. See my telegram to Bagdad No. 293.

3. If the position is not already clear to the Arab Governments, I hope it will be explained to them before their Foreign Ministers meet on the 19th April. It would also be useful if His Majesty's Representatives could speak on the lines of my telegram to Cairo No. 794, paragraph 2.

4.

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Reference: **FO 371/61862**

13

E

E 3554

45

PALESTINE

30 AM

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 3554/347/31

Lis. O. Kirkbride
Amman.

134

28, Apr 1947
30 - -

Arab Boycott.

Refer 40. to 177 (E 950/347/31). States
Spoke to Transjordan P.M. who replied that
while Transjordan Govt had been compelled
by public opinion to subscribe to decision
to Boycott Jewish goods, no legislation
had been passed in Transjordan on the
subject, neither had Boycott been enforced in fact.

Last Paper.

3038

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8. B.O.

B/2.

✓ May 3

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

G.A. 1/2/6

10/8/47

Next Paper.

355-5

26513 F.O.P.

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E 3554 46

30 APR

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FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir A. Kirkbride

No. 134

28th April, 1947

D. 1.15 p.m. 28th April, 1947

R. 6.45 p.m. 28th April, 1947

Repeated to Bagdad Saving

Beirut Saving

Cairo Saving

Damascus Saving

Jedda Saving

British Middle East Office Cairo Saving

Jerusalem Saving

ddddd

Reference your telegram No. 177.

April 19th about boycott of Palestinian Jewish goods.

When I spoke to Prime Minister of Trans-Jordan on this subject he replied that while the Trans-Jordan Government had been compelled by public opinion to subscribe to decision to boycott Jewish goods no legislation had been passed on Trans-Jordan on the subject neither had boycott been enforced in fact. He would conform willingly with a decision by Arab States to cancel the boycott but did not feel able to take unilateral action.

I can confirm that the boycott is not enforced by Trans-Jordan and I would point out that Jewish press never backward in complaints about Trans-Jordan has not mentioned this country in attacks on the boycott.

61862

E 3555

48

30 APR.

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir H. Stonehewer Bird
No. 392

D. 7.28 a.m. 29th April 1947
R. 11.15 a.m. 29th April 1947

28th April 1947
Repeated to Jerusalem

Cairo)
Jedda)
Beirut) Saving
Damascus)
Amman)
British Middle East Office Cairo)

c c c c c c

Your telegram to Cairo No. 819.

Boycott.

I will seek an early opportunity of speaking to the Iraqi Prime Minister on the lines you suggest.

2. It is not easy to assess how effective the boycott is, but it certainly causes annoyance, even in the case of goods of United Kingdom origin passing through Palestine, which are liable to be held up by the Iraqi authorities. I shall stress this aspect in speaking to the Prime Minister.

3. I am sending the latest available facts and figures by despatch.

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1	2	3	4	5	6

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Reference: FO 371/61862

15

E

E 3676

1947

PALESTINE

2 MAY

49

Registry
Number

E 3676/347/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

1118
30, Apr 1947
2 May -

Arab Boycott

Refers to O.T. 879 & Cairo (950/347/31)
Holds representations made by mission
in 1946 remained unanswered, and is
advised that they are no more likely
to succeed now.

Last Paper.

35-5-5

References.

30/5

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

rept. Strophard Smith
B.O.

May 21

H. Parker.

R.O. 7

30/5 Martin

General

recd 28

(Action
completed.)

G.L. 2/4

(Index.)

M. J. 1/4

Next Paper.

E 3855

(Minutes.)

The references are very obscure.
I don't think we expect our
representations to be effective.
Unless E.R. Dept. think that
Mr Scrivener's arguments
against acting are compelling,
it would seem best that he
should act, as instructed,
for the record

Mr S. 11/5
E.R. Dept.

J. S. 11/5
Main 6

C.O. & B/T. But he consulted
before any ref is sent, as C.O.
prompted the original tel.

The refs. are many, I think
to various Tels & despatches in which we
have stressed the importance we
attach to I.T.O.
G.T. 8/5

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Reference:

FO

371/61862

~~to the Member (Board of Trade) Board of~~
~~Trade and Colonial Office as for E 950 (FLAG A),~~
~~I submit draft accordingly.~~
 The Damascus telegram seems too confusing to
 be worth copying. All references in draft are at
 FLAG A in E 950

C.R. - CABLE

10/5.

49A

See now E 3904, E 4110 and E for
 corresponding reactions from H.M. Missins in
 Beirut, Cairo and Jedda. All posts are agreed
 that the use of the arguments set out in para. 4
 following of our telegram No. 819 to Cairo (E 950
 Flag A) about Articles 14 and 23 of the draft
 Charter for the I.T.O. would merely have the
 effect of prejudicing the Arab States against
 I.T.O. See moreover E 4157 for a report of an
 initial brush with the Lebanese Syrian delegations
 at Geneva on the question of Article 23 in
 relation to the Arab boycott of Palestine.

It seems from these telegrams quite clear
 that there is nothing to be gained by making
 play with the draft Charter of I.T.O. in
 representation to the Arab countries about the
 Palestine Boycott. The Arab States would probably
 have a good deal to gain from joining the I.T.O.,
 but they are capable of being very pig-headed
 where questions such as the Jewish position in
 Palestine is concerned. They are in any case
 clearly already well aware of the clash between
 their boycott of Palestine-Jewish goods and the
 obligations which they would have to assume
 under I.T.O. and there seems no point whatever in
 rubbing this in - a process likely only to make
 them more pig-headed.

The instructions at Flag A gave the Middle
 East posts wide discretion as to the nature of the
 representations they were to make to the Arab
 Governments about the boycott and only suggested
 that the Middle East posts might find the arguments
 about I.T.O. useful.

It was the Colonial Office who ~~suggested~~
 these I.T.O. arguments and in the circumstances
 I think we should write to the Colonial Office
 suggesting that they should be dropped, but that,
 if the Colonial Office wished, the Middle East
 posts should nevertheless still be given general
 instructions to make further general representations
 about the boycott.

We should copy the letter to the Colonial
 Office to the Board of Trade and invite their
 views on para. 3 of Cairo telegram No. 1116.

As Mr. Grafftey Smith is proposing to make
 representations to the Saudi Arabian Government
 including reference to the I.T.O. arguments (in
 spite of the fact that he anticipates an adverse
 reaction) I think that he should be told to hold
 his hand for the time being pending further
 instructions.

Draft to Mr. Trafford Smith (Colonial Office)
 and draft telegram to Jedda accordingly.

19th May, 1947.

1	2	3	4	5	6

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50
[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

E 3676

Mr. Scrivener.
No. 148.

D. 4.00 p.m. 30th April, 1947.

30th April, 1947.

R. 8.55 p.m. 30th April, 1947. MAY

Repeated to Cairo,
Beirut, Saving.

5 5 5 5

Your telegram No. 819 to Cairo.

I have asked for Cairo telegram No. 1733 of 1946 which had not yet reached this post.

Representations made by this mission in 1946 remained unanswered and I am advised that they are no more likely to succeed now. Your intention is doubtless, however, to register simultaneous protest in all Arab States. But so far as the suggested arguments are concerned, may not their use tend to arouse Arab opposition to I.T.O. and thus endanger more general objective set forth in your telegram No. 112 to [gps. undec.] and more especially in paragraph - (d) of your circular 028? I should certainly expect such reaction here and before acting should welcome confirmation of your instructions.

uc. 2015/10/55 uc. 6016/10/53

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Reference:

FO 371/61862

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Pa 51

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM JEDDA TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Grafftey Smith, D: 12.00 noon 17th May, 1947
No. 198
 17th May, 1947. R: 5.00 p.m. 17th May, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo,	Saving
British Middle East Office,	Saving
Bagdad,	Saving
Beirut,	"
Jerusalem,	"
Amman,	"
Damascus	"

Your telegram No.819 to Cairo.

Palestine boycott.

I am still awaiting the opportunity for raising the matter informally with Sheikh Yusuf Yassin who is expected back in Jedda shortly. Representations to his underlings would be futile.

2. I have no (repeat no) expectation of a favourable reception of the arguments you suggest. Most probable result is a Saudi refusal to participate in International Trade Organisation. If the latter believes membership of this organisation carries the obligation to permit gold dealings in member's territory at official rates only, there is advantage to ourselves in not frightening Saudi Arabia off at this stage.

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

Registry
No. E 3676/347/31

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

Mr. Trafford Smith
Colonial Office.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Copy to:

Mr. ~~K. McGregor~~ ^{Parker}
Board of Trade

Mr. ~~Harten~~ ^{V.K. Delgado}
Geneva

See minute
in E 4157
C 2/5
Economic Relations
Dept. to see

RF
20/5

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE,
28 May, 1947.

You will remember that on ^{the} 19th April we sent ~~a~~ telegram to Cairo and the other Middle Eastern posts instructing them to make further representations to the Arab Govts. about the boycott of Palestinian-Jewish goods, in which we suggested that they might find it useful to make use of arguments about the provisions of Art. 14 and 23 of the draft Charter for the International Trade Organisation. I enclose a copy of the telegram (No. 819 to Cairo) for ease of reference.

We have now received telegrams from Beirut, Damascus, Cairo and Jedda all expressing the view that the use of the suggested I.T.O. arguments would only have the effect of arousing Arab opposition to I.T.O., and thus prejudicing the prospects of getting that Organisation properly onto its feet. I enclose copies of all these telegrams together with a copy of a telegram from Geneva (No. 425 of 16th May) which shows that in the working party on the I.T.O. draft Charter there has already been a brush with the Lebanese-Syrian Delegation on the question of the obligations imposed by Art. 23, in relation to the Palestine boycott.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXX/

IT

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371/61862

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the I.E.O. arguments on the Arab Governments,

we risk prejudicing them against the I.T.O.

~~It is equally clear moreover that~~ The Arab

Governments are ^{increasingly} already fully aware of the potential clash between their boycott policy and the obligations which they would ultimately

have to assume under the I.T.O. Charter if

they signed it, ^{and although} ~~The Arab States~~, should,

~~indeed~~ stand to gain by joining the I.T.O.,

that, of course, where the Jewish position in

Palestine is concerned ~~they are~~ capable of

being very pig-headed. ~~In any case we feel~~

~~that~~ Anything we do to rub in this clash

between ^{their} boycott policy and I.T.O. obligations

would only ^{seem} be likely to make them more pig-headed.

In the circumstances we would suggest that, if you still feel that further representations to the Arab Governments are called for, they should be in more general terms, on the lines indicated in paras.2 and 3 of our telegram No.819 to Cairo, unless ~~you~~ *I course,* or the Board of Trade, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter have any other suggestions to make. In this connexion we should welcome your observations and those of the Board of Trade on the suggestion in para.3 of Cairo telegram No.1116.

There is nothing to
be gained by ~~the~~
using the

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

reference

FO 371 / 61862

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53

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

(E3676/347/31)

You will remember that on the 19th April we sent telegrams to Cairo and the other Middle Eastern posts instructing them to make further representations to the Arab Governments about the boycott of Palestinian-Jewish goods, in which we suggested that they might find it useful to make use of arguments about the provisions of Article 14 and 23 of the draft Charter for the International Trade Organisation. I enclose a copy of the telegram (No.819 to Cairo) for ease of reference.

We have now received telegrams from Beirut, Damascus, Cairo and Jeddah all expressing the view that the use of the suggested I.T.O. arguments would only have the effect of arousing Arab opposition to I.T.O., and thus prejudicing the prospects of getting that Organisation properly onto its feet. I enclose copies of all these telegrams together with a copy of a telegram from Geneva (No.425 of 16th May) which shows that in the working party on the I.T.O. draft Charter there has already been a brush with the Lebanese-Syrian Delegation on the question of the obligations imposed by Article 23, in relation to the Palestine boycott.

In the light of these reactions it would seem that there is nothing to be gained by using the I.T.O. arguments on the Arab Governments, we risk prejudicing them against the I.T.O. The Arab Governments are

/in

Trafford Smith, Esq.,
Colonial Office.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO** 371/61862

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in any case already fully aware of the potential clash between their boycott policy, and the obligations which they would ultimately have to assume under the I.T.O. Charter if they signed it, and although they should, stand to gain by joining the I.T.O. they are, of course, where the Jewish position in Palestine is concerned, capable of being very pig-headed. Anything we do to rub in this clash between their boycott policy and I.T.O. obligations would only seem likely to make them more pig-headed.

In the circumstances we would suggest that, if you still feel that further representations to the Arab Governments are called for, they should be in more general terms, on the lines indicated in paragraphs 2 and 3 of our telegram No. 819 to Cairo, unless, of course, you, or the Board of Trade, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter have any other suggestions to make. In this connexion we should welcome your observations and those of the Board of Trade on the suggestion in paragraph 3 of Cairo telegram No. 1116.

(P. Garren)

57

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1	2	3	4	5	6
Reference: FO 371 / 61862					

16

E

E 3855

55

1947

PALESTINE

9 MAY

Registry
Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E3855/347/31

D. Bask

Bagdad.

149

5/2/31/47

28, 11/1947

9 MAY

Arab Boycott.

Refers Bagdad tel 372 (E3555/347/31)
which stated that latest figures re
Iraqi Boycott of Zionist goods would
be sent by despatch. How transmit
same.

Last Paper.

3676

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/ P.O.

Bapt. 7.

May 15

(Action
completed.)

(Index)

Next Paper.

E3904

32003 F.O.P

1
2
3
4
5
6

References:

FO

371/61862

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[Signature]
10/5

E 3855
9 MAY

Bagdad.

No 140
512/31/47

E3155 / 307 / 71

2. The figures extracted from the Iraqi returns are not very clear. While Iraq has apparently imported much less from Palestine in 1946 than in the previous two years it must be remembered that they are not now restricted by the M.E.S.C. arrangements which forced them to abandon their old distant sources of supply, and to obtain all they could from adjacent countries. On the other hand Palestinian industry has greatly developed during the war, and but for the boycott it might be reasonable to suppose that Iraq would be taking more Palestinian goods.

Trade with Palestine:

	ID
January	33,402
February	7,348
March	18,542
April	17,641
May	13,689
June	10,187
July	1,842
August	139
September	1,770
October	1,571
	<hr/>
	106,131

In 1944 and 1945 the totals for the year, which then included Transjordan, were ID 583,676 and ID 828,734.

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
	1			2	

Reference:

FO 371 / 61862

Exports to Palestine from Iraq 1946

	ID
January	263,407
February	-
March	2,264
April	3,353
May	24,831
June	6,961
July	2,640
August	35
September	-
October	-
	<hr/>
	303,491

Transjordan total ID 205,742

In 1944 and 1945 the yearly totals, including Transjordan were ID 1,468,038, but these figures include grain shipments valued at ID 1,530,795 and ID 1,016,914 respectively.

4. On the strength of these figures the boycott does not appear to be very effective, because as mentioned in paragraph 2 above it was only to be expected that with the end of M.E.S.C. control in 1946, Iraq would turn to her old sources of supply in place of those forced upon her by the control.

5. Similarly the control of exports to Palestine does not appear to be very thorough if account is taken of the value of grain shipped under Ministry of Food auspices in 1944 and 1945. It is impossible to reconcile the total for the first seven months of 1946, ID 303,456, with the figure of £P.6,289,462 for the same period published by the Department of Statistics, Jerusalem, for imports into Palestine from Iraq, unless it be assumed that the Palestinian figure includes oil. The Director General of Economics has no idea of the value of the oil going down the pipe to Haifa. It would be interesting to learn whether the Palestine Government is able to elucidate the point.

6. Iraq has now tightened up control of United Kingdom goods passing through Palestine. Until recently a certificate from the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jaffa to the effect that the goods were of United Kingdom origin was sufficient; but now the Iraqi Consul General in Jerusalem insists on such certificates being endorsed by the Arab Higher Committee. A recent case of the hold up of United Kingdom goods is that of some 80 copies of Kelly's Directory being held up in the Iraqi Post Office because they passed through Kelly's agent in Jerusalem. As I said in my telegram

/under

1	2	3	4	5	6
	1			2	

Reference: **FO** 371/61862

CAPTAIN OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioner for Palestine and the British Middle East Office.

By Lar Burke

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 2

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E 3904

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Houstoun Boswall.

No. 348

10th May 1947

D. 3.58 p.m. 10th May 1947.

R. 9.25 p.m. 10th May 1947.

Repeated to Cairo No. 126.
Damascus Saving.

PPP

Your telegram No. 819 to Cairo.

Boycott on Zionist goods.

This telegram arrived when I was absent, and on my return I found Damascus telegram No. 148 to you submitting that representations in the sense of your instructions might arouse Arab opposition to International Trade Organisation and so defeat wider objectives of His Majesty's Government's economic policy.

2. As I am pretty certain that Lebanese Government would not be prepared openly to go further than Syria in this question (although Minister for Foreign Affairs has told me how strongly he disapproved of the more energetic Iraqi proposals for retaliation against British and American economic interests) I would prefer, subject to your approval to defer taking any action pending your reply to Damascus.



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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference:

FO

371/61862

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18
1947

E

E 4110

61

PALESTINE

16 MAY

Registry
Number }

E 4110/347/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Lt. R. Campbell
Paris

Dated

Received
in Registry }

1116.

13, May 1947

16 -

Arab Boycott.

Refers F.O. (L 819 (E 950/347/31))
has not yet made formal representations
from soundings in my service for
impression that argument suggested
would have no force at all and that
representation might prejudice the
Egyptian point against F.O.

Last Paper.

3904

References.

(Minutes.)

See minutes & action on E 3676

RJ
1/25/5

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)

9/2/47

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

E 4157

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO

371

61862

4170/347/71 62

AMENDED COPY

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir. R. Campbell.
No. 1116.

13th May 1947.

D. 8.15 p.m. 13th May 1947.
R. 11.10 p.m. 13th May 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva,
Bagdad,
Jedda,
Beirut,
Damascus,
Jerusalem,
Amman Saving.

0:0:0:0

Your telegram No. 819: Palestine boycott.

I have not yet made formal representations and from soundings in Ministry of Finance I have the impression that arguments suggested by you would have no force at all and that representations might prejudice the Egyptian Government against International Trade Organisation.

2 According to a local press report United Kingdom delegation at Geneva has been instructed to raise the question. Is this so and what was the result?

3. Meanwhile you may wish to consider representations on the basis of two commercial agreements between Egypt and Palestine viz (a) *that of* June 6th/7th 1930* extended to Palestine June 10th/11th and recently extended till February 16th 1948. (b) agreement resulting from Jerusalem Conference of February 1944.

4. Boycott appears to contravene paragraph (c) of *the former instrument and its extension to transit trade contravenes section 4 of the latter instrument. In corresponding negotiations with the Government agent in Cairo in May/July 1946, Egyptian Director General of Customs by agreeing to terminate paragraph (c) of section 4 of the latter, implied recognition of its continued validity*.

Foreign Office please pass to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva *as my telegram No. 55*. *Beirut* please pass to Damascus as my telegram No. 73.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva].



1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO** 371/61862

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63
E 4110

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Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R. Campbell

D. 8. 15 p.m. 13th May, 1947.

No: 1116

R. 11.10 p.m. 13th May, 1947.

13th May, 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva,
Bagdad,
Jedda,
Beirut,
Damascus,
Jerusalem,
Amman Saving.

11111

Your telegram No. 819: Palestine boycott.

I have not yet made formal representations and from soundings in Ministry of Finance I have the impression that arguments suggested by you would have no force at all and that representations might prejudice the Egyptian Government against International Trade Organisation.

2. According to a local press report United Kingdom delegation at Geneva has been instructed to raise the question. Is this so and what was the result?

3. Meanwhile you may wish to consider representations on the basis of two commercial agreements between Egypt and Palestine viz (a) exchange of notes June 6th/7th September 24th 30th [sic] extended to Palestine June 10th/11th and recently extended till February 16th 1948. (b) agreement resulting from Jerusalem Conference of February 1944.

4. Boycott appears to contravene paragraph (c) of [grps. undec.] with Palestinian Government [grps. undec.] (c) of section 4 of latter implied recognition of its continued validity.

Foreign Office please pass to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva [grp. undec.] Please pass to Damascus as my telegram No. 73.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva].

[Repetition of undecypherable groups is being obtained]

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Reference:

FO 371/61862

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18 MAY 1947

19

E

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E 4157

PALESTINE

17 MAY

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 4157/347/31

U.K. Del

Geneva

1125

16 May 1947

17 - -

Arab Boycott

Also the working party on article 15-23
concluded and 37 of I.T.O. draft charter
today took article 23 (boycott)
gives list of discussions

Last Paper.

4110

References.

(Minutes.)

See minutes & action on E 3676.

These boycott articles in the draft charter
seem likely to be a stumbling block with all
the Arab Gents and will ~~probably~~ ^{possibly} prevent them
from joining I.T.O., although to join would be to
their obvious advantage.

The quibble suggested by the Dutch and the
Greeks (para: 7) would seem quite untenable.

I do not see how this let. answers para:

3 of Cairo tel: no: 1116 (E 4110).

They must mean para 2.

E.R. Dept.

R.G.

✓ 20/5

Please see the attached letter 17/12 of 17 May 1947
to me from Mr. Marten. I confess that I do not like
his proposed solution in para 6. But we allow the boycott
because it is political which would at once justify all
future boycotts and make nonsense of Article
23

32003 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO

371/61862

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(How disposed of.)

Def) Mr. F. W. Marten,
H.C.

U.K. Del to I.T.O.

Geneva, from

Mr. Cowe May. 28

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

5/11/48

11/11/48

Next Paper.

E 4164

64A

C. T. Crowe,
2/5

41 P.P. R. Lewis U.K. Oct 5 9.7.2.
to B Brown, 21/5.

23/8 ✓

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	1			2	

Reference: **FO** 371/61862

Cypher/OTP

4157
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
DISTRIBUTION

FROM GENEVA (UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION)

TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 425
16th May, 1947.

D. 10.56 p.m. 16th May, 1947.

R. 12.25 a.m. 17th May, 1947.

Repeated to Beirut,
Cairo,
Damascus,
New York (U.K. Delegation).

IMMEDIATE

Q Q Q

IMMEDIATE
NEUTRAL
SECRET

Please pass Immediate to posts named.

Arab League boycott of Zionist goods.

The Working Party on Articles 15-23
inclusive and 37 of the I.T.O. draft charter today took
Article 23 (boycotts).

2. The Lebanese-Syrian delegation had reserved
its position on this article both at the London session
of the Preparatory Committee and at the Drafting
Committee in New York, taking the view that boycotts
may be justified on political or moral grounds. Some
days ago they circulated a paper here suggesting that
Article 23 should be deleted, or failing acceptance of
this suggestion by the Committee, that one of the two
following amendments be adopted:-

- (a). Insert at beginning of the article the words
"save in exceptional circumstances where
their adoption is justified by vital
national interests".
- (b) Add a second paragraph. "The provisions of
paragraph 1 of this article shall not apply
to boycotts of subsidised trading enterprises
with political objectives likely to prejudice
the vital interests of a member." (They
subsequently suggested that the words "with
political objectives" be omitted from
Amendment B.)

3. Mobarak (Lebanon) and Jabbara (Syria) asked
to see Holmes yesterday afternoon and raised the
question of Article 23, stating that they were anxious
not to introduce major political issues when their
amendments came up for discussion and expressing hope
that we would support one or other of their proposals.

4./...

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

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4. Shortly before meeting today we warned Syrian representative orally that the United Kingdom delegation would not feel able to accept proposed deletion of the article or either of the suggested amendments.

5. We also had prior word with Colban, Chairman of the Working Party, who handled the discussion this morning very well. He said that it was necessary to have in the Charter an article prohibiting boycotts by members and that the proposal for deleting the article should be dropped. The sense of all members of the Committee except Lebanon-Syria and India was in agreement with this. The Lebanese delegate mentioned the political issues of Zionism and Palestine in his speech.

6. The Working Party then went on to deal with the amendments. United States took the line that they were unnecessary and United Kingdom agreed. They were supported by Belgium and Cuba, who suggested that this was essentially a political matter with which the Preparatory Committee could not deal. The appropriate place for discussing it was the United Nations special assembly now meeting in New York. In so far as the Lebanese-Syrian claim was based on economic grounds (e.g. that the Zionists were subsidising Jewish goods to undersell Arab goods in markets which the latter would otherwise enjoy) the Draft Charter already contained provisions (e.g. Article 17, anti-dumping and counter-vailing) to deal with such malpractices.

7. Unfortunately Netherlands and Czechoslovakia then suggested that the boycott might not come within the scope of Article 23, the former on the grounds that it refers to territorial origin, whereas the Arab League countries were proposing to boycott the goods not of a territory but of a group (i.e. the Zionists), the latter on the grounds that Palestine would not be a member country. The Lebanese seized on this and asked that the question whether the action which they found it necessary to take came within the terms of Article 23 or not might be referred to the legal adviser. If Article 23 did not apply to such action then they were quite content that it should remain in the Charter. Colban resisted this as likely to lay an unfair burden on the staff who would find it difficult to give a legal opinion on a matter of this sort against a political background.

8. We took no part in the discussion beyond original support of United States proposal (see paragraph 6 above) as members of committee generally were not sympathetic with the Lebanese and it was obviously undesirable to get immersed in political arguments.

9. Upshot of discussion was that Lebanese Delegation went on record as prepared to accept the article without amendment if it did not apply to the circumstances of the case in question, but that if it did, as reserving their position.

10. Above will answer paragraph 3 of Cairo telegram No.1116 (your telegram No.429).

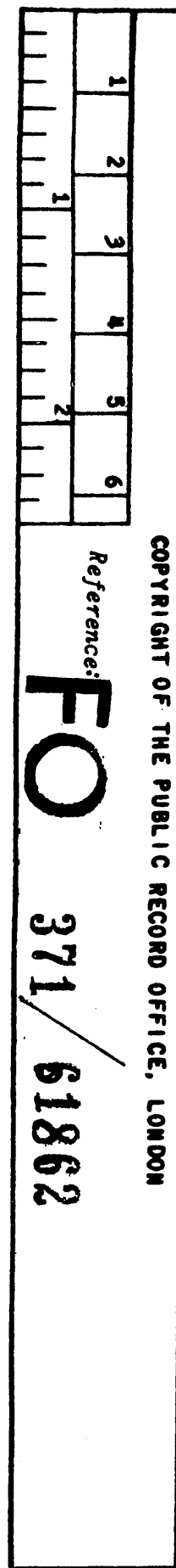
11. Comments will follow.

[Repeated Immediate to Beirut, Cairo, Damascus and United Kingdom Delegation New York].

1	2	3	4	5	6
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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

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67A

is appointed by the Special Assembly.

7. A paragraph covering the points made in this letter was included in my original draft of telegram 425. Holmes however considered that the matter required further consideration here (perhaps when Helmore returns) and therefore substituted para. 11. This letter therefore represents a personal suggestion, but pending receipt by you of another telegram containing comments it may give you something to go on. Knowing the form here on these semi-political (or in this case wholly political) problems I rather think the "comments" mentioned in para 11 will merely be a recommendation to postpone further any decision.

Yours ever

Tim.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

No. E 4107/347/31

C.T.C.

Draft.

F.W. Marten, Esq., M.C.
U.K. Delegation to
I.T.O.,
Geneva.
C.T.
(from W. Crave)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

28 May, 1947.

OU FILE

Dear Jim

Thank you for your letter M 17 of
May 19th about the Arab League and Article 23.

You will have seen the letter from us to the Colonial Office suggesting that in the light of the replies we have had from Cairo, Damascus, Beirut and Jedda to our original telegram that we think that H.M. Representatives are unlikely to get very far, and, in fact, may only do harm to I.T.O. prospects, by trying to tie ~~up~~ their approach ^{to} Article 23. The line taken by the Lebanese Delegate in Geneva only confirms this view. If the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade still want to make representations we think they should be on more general lines.

As regards ~~your~~ ^{this alternative in} paragraph 6 of your letter, you will presumably discuss the question with Roger and we will be interested ^{if the caption is} to see if you let us have any further comments on this issue.

~~I confess~~ I am not very happy at ^{his} your proposal in ^{7th} paragraph 6 since a boycott is an economic measure however political the reasons for it may be. Thus if Article 23 were left in the Charter, I.T.O. would either ~~be~~ have to crack down on the Arab states or let them off on political grounds which would make ~~the Article meaningless~~. ^{Since every other boycott could be justified on political grounds} If the latter ~~would~~ ^{would be} happen we would do better to drop the Article ~~altogether~~ and if the former, we would be deceiving the Arab states which would be most ^{undesirable} unfavourable.

I confess that I have no other alternative to offer and I can only suggest that you should

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1		2		3		4		5		6	
			1					2			

Reference: FO 371 / 61862

68A

presume you will be discussing with Roger.

21/5

Yours ever
(sd) C. W. Browe

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Reference: **FO 371/61862**

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

(E4157/347/31)

28² May 1947

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter M.17 of 19th May about the Arab League and Article 23.

You will have seen the letter from us to the Colonial Office suggesting that in the light of the replies we have had from Cairo, Damascus, Beirut and Jeddah to our original telegram that we think that His Majesty's Representatives are unlikely to get very far, and, in fact, may only do harm to International Trade Organisation prospects, by trying to tie their approach to Article 23. The line taken by the Lebanese Delegate in Geneva only confirms this view. If the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade still want to make representations we think they should be on more general lines.

As regards the alternatives in your letter, I am not very happy at the proposal in your paragraph 6 since a boycott is an economic measure however political the reasons for it may be. Thus if Article 23 were left in the Charter, I.T.O. would either have to crack down on the Arab states or let them off on political grounds which would make the Article meaningless since every other boycott could be justified on political grounds. If the latter were to happen we would do better to drop the Article altogether and if the former, we would be deceiving the Arab states which would be most undesirable.

I confess that I have no other alternative to
/offer

F.W. Marten, Esq., M.C.,
U.K. Delegation to International Trade Organisation,
Geneva.

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(C.T. Crowe)

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UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION
TO
PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

PALAIS DES NATIONS,
GENEVA.

31st May, 1947.

Dear Colin,

Your letter E 4157/347/31, undated, to Tim Marten about the Arab League Boycott, and Article 23 of the Draft I.T.O. Charter.

I am somewhat puzzled by this letter because it makes no reference to Geneva Telegram 458 of the 21st May which contains the comments promised in Geneva Telegram 425. I can only imagine that the letter was drafted before 458 arrived and took a particularly long time to go through the works.

I have discussed the question briefly with Stephen Holmes and we both feel that the formal position now is that the Delegation is awaiting reply to its Telegram 458. I have warned him that the reply may be along the lines of the third and fourth paragraphs of your letter but it should of course be sent officially in the Neutral series.

I hope myself that in the light of Geneva Telegram 458 it will be possible somewhat to modify the views expressed in the third paragraph of your letter. Surely the point is that because the boycott is prompted by political rather than economic considerations it would be improper to include any reference to it in the Charter or to discuss it at the Preparatory Conference. This would have to be made clear to the Arab States who would be told that they must take the text of the Charter as it is and if necessary be prepared to argue their case in favour of the boycott with the International Trade Organisation. It has already been suggested to them in the course of discussions (see Geneva Telegram 425, paragraph 7) that on technical grounds they might be able to argue that the boycott was not directed against the products of any specific Member country or countries. Whether or not this would be a valid argument must be for I.T.O. to judge. I do not think that in putting the thing to them in this way we are deceiving them; and it would of course be quite impracticable to drop the Article altogether. Perhaps the proposed tactics are not altogether clear in Geneva Telegram 458 and it might be advisable in your reply to try to define them more specifically in the way I have outlined above. I certainly do not think a completely negative reply would get us very far.

Yours ever

Colin Crowe

Collin Crowe, Esq.,
Foreign Office.

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Reference: **FO 371/61862**

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E

E 4164 72

1947

PALESTINE

19 MAY

Registry
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received
in Registry

E 4164/347/21

Al Ghorabty Smith

Jedda

198

17 May 1947
19

Arab Bay coll.

Refers #D. tit to Cairo 819 (E 950/347/21)
 & still awaiting opportunity for raising
 subject informally with Husein Yassin, who
 is expected back in Jedda shortly. Has
 no expectation of favourable reception
 of arguments suggested.

Last Paper.

4157

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel) Jedda 224
 Repd) Bagdad 425
 Cairo 53 Sav.
 Beirut 24 Sav.
 Amman 11 Sav.
 Damascus 13 Sav.

21 May.
 8) C.O. (with inward
 B.O.T. tel.)
 27 May

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

9/10/47
 11/8/48

11/8/48

Next Paper.

E4393

(Minutes.)

See minutes & action on E 3676.

20/5

In pp. Jedda tel. no. 203 of 24/5.
 Reference should have been 198. Telegram
 sent accordingly.

28/5

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO 371/61862**

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29 May

Cairo 25 Sav.

Amman 208

Damascus 280.

Reference: **FO 371/61862**

E 4164

19 MAY

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM JEDDA TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Grafftey Smith, D: 12.00 noon 17th May, 1947
No. 198
17th May, 1947. R: 5.00 p.m. 17th May, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo, Saving
British Middle East Office, Saving
Bagdad, Saving
Beirut, "
Jerusalem, "
Amman, "
Damascus "

A A A A

Restricted.

Your telegram No. 819 to Cairo.

Palestine boycott.

I am still awaiting the opportunity for raising the matter informally with Sheikh Yusuf Yassin who is expected back in Jeddah shortly. Representations to his underlings would be futile.

2. I have no (repeat no) expectation of a favourable reception of the arguments you suggest. Most probable result is a Saudi refusal to participate in International Trade Organisation. If the latter believes membership of this organisation carries the obligation to permit gold dealings in member's territory at official rates only, there is advantage to ourselves in not frightening Saudi Arabia off at this stage.



1	2	3	4	5	6

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FO

371/61862

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(13555) W.L. 43898-114 200mm 2/47 G.S.S. Gp. 620

Registry
No.

~~Top Secret.~~

~~Secret.~~

~~Confidential.~~

~~Restricted.~~

~~Open.~~

Draft Telegram

To

All Ministers

Redd

no: 224.

cyber code

Reheat

Brigade

no: 425.

Cairo

Brigade

no: 53 Saving

Beirut

no: 24 Saving

Amman

no: 11 Saving

Damascus

no: 13 Saving

No 2 Dept of

copy G.O.
13/7

OUT FILE

Date

Despatched

22.5.47
9 0 Am 74

Restricted

Your tel: no: 178 [May 17th:
Palestine bag code]

Please postpone action pending
further instructions.

PG
21/5

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Reference:

FO

371/61862

75
OUT FILE

RESTRICTED.

Code R

DEPARTMENTAL No.2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO JEDDA.

No. 224
21st May, 1947

D: 9.00 a.m. 22nd May, 1947

Repeated to Bagdad No. 425,
Cairo No. 53 Saving,
Beirut No. 24 "
Amman No. 11 "
Damascus No. 13"

~~~~~

RESTRICTED.

Your telegram No. 178 [of May 17th: Palestine  
boycott.]

Please postpone action pending further instructions.

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

EN CLAIR.

4164 347 31 E

27 MAY 1947

70  
FILES.

FROM JEDDA TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Grafftey Smith. D. 6.0 p.m. 24th May 1947.  
No. 203.  
24th May 1947. R. 11.50 p.m. 24th May 1947.

W:W:W:W:W E

Your telegram No.224.

Please check and repeat reference.



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3149 Mt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S. NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry  
No. 4164/347/31  
J.E.C.

Top Secret.  
Secret.  
Confidential.  
Restricted.  
Open.

Draft.  
PRO  
JEDDA

Telegram.

No. 228  
(Date) May 29<sup>th</sup>

Repeat to:-

Bagdad no 442  
Beiro (Lening) no 555AV  
Bisnet no 340  
Amman no 208  
Damascus no 280  
En Clair.  
Code.  
Cypher.

Distribution:-

Files  
Departmental No. 2

Copies to:-

OUT FILE

F.O.,

194

Despatched 3 10 AM.

My telegram no. 224 to JEDDA  
[of 21<sup>st</sup> May: Palestine boycott]  
Reference in this telegram  
should have been to JEDDA  
telegram no. 198 not (repeat) not  
178.

28/5

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FO 371/61862

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78

(E 4164/347/31)

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL No. 2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO JEDDA.

No. 228. D. 3.10 a.m. 30th May, 1947.  
29th May, 1947.

Repeated to Bagdad No. 442,  
Cairo No. 55 Saving,  
Beirut No. 340,  
Amman No. 208,  
Damascus No. 280.

3 3 3 3

My telegram No. 224 to Jedda [of 21st May:  
Palestine boycott].

Reference in this telegram should have  
been to Jedda telegram No. 198 not (repeat  
not) 178.

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21

E

E 4393

79

1947

PALESTINE

23 MAY

Registry  
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

E 4393/347/31

U.K. Del.

Geneva

1458

21 May 1947

24 - -

Arab Boycott

Refers Geneva tel 1425 (E 4393/347/31)  
States that Boycott of Jewish Goods is  
essentially a political matter and should be  
dealt with by the appropriate political organ  
of U.N. (i.e. the Commission appointed by Special  
Assembly). *Give further comments.*

Last Paper.

4164

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

18, in Parker R.O.T.

in Lewis R.O.

with ref.

in Garrison Bamps.

4 June

P.T. O.

(Action  
completed.)

J.C. 22/4

(Index)

J.C. 22/4

Next Paper.

4796

(Minutes.)

This telegram has been held up for papers, which  
are now attached.

We can presumably approve the line suggested  
in paragraph 2 (c), but this is primarily a question  
for Economic Relations Department and the Board of  
Trade. Colonial Office should also be consulted.

I think we should oppose strongly the suggestion  
that the boycott question should be dealt with by  
the fact-finding committee appointed by the United  
Nations Special Assembly. The terms of reference  
of that committee are admittedly wide ("the special  
committee shall have the widest powers to ascertain  
and record facts and to investigate all questions  
and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine"),  
but, in relation to the Palestine question as a  
whole, the boycott is very much of a side issue,  
and no useful purpose would be served by dragging  
it before the fact-finding committee, which is  
already going to have enough and more than enough  
on its plate.

I submit draft reply to Geneva.

E.C. 22/4

V.N. 22/4

R.C.

30th May, 1947

I agree. Perhaps we might add something  
on the following lines. "Nor do we think that proposal should  
be referred to any other U.N. agency. Boycotts are  
usually instituted for political reasons and to remove  
the Arab League boycott from scope of J.C. is <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>probably</sup> ~~mean~~ <sup>mean</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~future~~ <sup>future</sup> ~~boycotts~~ <sup>boycotts</sup> ~~would~~ <sup>would</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~handled~~ <sup>handled</sup> ~~similarly~~ <sup>similarly</sup>.  
This would make sense / Article 23.  
C.T. CROWE C.T. CROWE

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Reference: FO 371/61862

I think that there can be no doubt  
that boycotts of any kind are contrary  
to article 1. of the charter of the U.N.  
If they, in the situation which provoked  
them were to be brought before an organ  
of the U.N., it would have to be the  
Assembly or the Security Council, but certainly  
not before a body such as the fact  
finding committee appointed by the  
Special Assembly.

In the present case the boycott is a  
result of a situation which is already  
under investigation. The fact finding  
committee may or may not consider  
the boycott as one of the factors  
affecting that situation. But I can  
see no reason why the I.T.O. should  
alter its attitude towards boycotts because  
of that.

S.W. Durrant  
3/6

Revised dft herewith, which can  
now go to B/T & C.O. for concurrence. *RF*  
4/6

C.O. & B/T have now concurred  
*RF* 14/6

79A

*del. Geneva*

193

14. June

Paris, Beirut 372.

Damascus 304

Cairo 451

New York 1738

8/ Parker S.O.T.

Higham - S.O.

June 17

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E 4383

23 MAY

E 80

Cypher/OTP

INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

FROM UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION  
GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 458

D. 6.32 p.m. 21st May 1947

21st May 1947

R. 7.40 p.m. 21st May 1947

Repeated to Beirut

Cairo

Damascus

New York (U.K. Del.)

YYYY

NEUTRAL  
SECRET

Foreign Office please pass to posts named.

My telegram No. 425

Arab League boycott.

This boycott of goods of Zionist origin is essentially a political matter and should in our opinion be dealt with by the appropriate political organ of United Nations (e.g. the Commission appointed by the Special Assembly). If it were generally accepted that it was outside the scope of I.T.O. and could be discussed elsewhere, the Arab League states might withdraw their objection to the general prohibition of boycotts as expressed in Article 23 of the Charter which is a code of commercial principles. This seems to us a possible solution of an issue on which a decision has merely been postponed and you may care to consider whether it is advisable to explore ways and means of attaining it.

2. For the rest position resulting from discussion reported in telegram under reference seems to us to be as follows:-

(a) Text of Article 23, unless again challenged by Lebanese-Syrian Delegation (and possibly Indian Delegation) when it is reached in Charter consideration by the full Committee will stand subject to conditional reservation by Lebanese-Syrians (unless this is withdrawn).

(b) Preparatory Committee should stand firm against any attempt to secure from it an opinion on the applicability of Article to any particular set of circumstances and insist that this would be the proper function of the Organisation (or Interim Trade Committee) when established.

(c)

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Reference: FO 371/61862

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80A

- 2 -

(c) If further attempt is made to secure amendment of same kind and on same grounds as last week we should oppose, or preferably simply side with majority, if necessary taking the line

- (i) that introduction of an "essential vital interest" let out in this Article would be no more appropriate than in relation to any other obligation to be assumed by Members.
- (ii) That introduction of political considerations is undesirable in agreement relating to tariffs and trade.
- (iii) That both paragraphs of Article 35 are very widely drawn, giving any member the right of appeal to the Organisation in all matters affecting the operation of the Charter or in all situations having the effect of nullifying or impairing its objects, and that in extreme cases Article 37 (c) could be invoked.

3. Should be glad to learn whether above line is approved.

[Repeated to Beirut, Cairo, Damascus and United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61862

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Registry  
No. E 4393/347/31

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Open.

I.  
P.  
G.

Draft.

U.K. Delegation,  
Geneva

Telegram.

No. 6931

(Date) June 14<sup>th</sup>

Repeat to:—

Beirut No. 372  
Damascus No. 304  
Cairo No. 1738  
New York (U.K.  
Delegation) No. 1738

Open by  
E.R. Dept  
U.N. Dept

Ex-Clair.

Code.

Cypher.

Distribution:—

International  
Trade

Copies to:—

Board of Trade  
Colonial Office

for concurrence

Copy to Parker & P.  
The Higham C.O.

OUT FILE

F.O.,

14 June 1947.

Despatched 7.10 P.M.

NEUTRAL  
SECRET

Your telegram No. 458 of 21st May:  
Palestine boycott and international trade  
negotiations.

It is agreed that you should, if  
necessary, take the line proposed in  
paragraph 2(c) of your telegram under  
reference.

2. We do not, however, consider that  
the question of the boycott is a suitable  
one for reference to the fact-finding committee  
on Palestine appointed by the United Nations  
Special Assembly. Terms of reference of that  
committee are admittedly very wide, but in  
relation to the whole Palestine problem,  
boycott is a side issue, and we do not think  
that any useful purpose would be served by  
bringing it before the committee, which will  
already be fully occupied in dealing with  
the fundamental issues involved.

3. Nor do we think that the question  
should be referred to any other U.N. agency.  
If, indeed boycotts are to be treated as  
political issues and if they or the situation  
which provoked them, are to be referred to the  
U.N. they would have to be brought before  
either the Assembly or the Security Council.

4. Boycotts are in fact usually  
instituted/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference: FO 371/61862

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instituted for political reasons and to remove the Arab League boycott from the scope of the International Trade Organisation on the ground that it was a political matter would probably mean that all future boycotts would have to be treated similarly. This would make a nonsense of Article 23.

Rg  
2/14/6

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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E4393/347/31.

Cypher/OTP

INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO GENEVA.

(To United Kingdom Delegation)

No. 693.

June 14th, 1947.

D. 7.10.p.m. June 14th, 1947.

Repeated to Beirut No. 372.

Damascus No. 304.

Cairo No. 458.

U.K.Delegation New York No. 1738.

6 6 6 6 6

NEUTRAL.

SECRET.

Your telegram No. 458 [of 21st May: Palestine boycott and international trade negotiations.]

It is agreed that you should, if necessary, take the line proposed in paragraph 2 (c) of your telegram under reference.

2. We do not, however, consider that the question of the boycott is a suitable one for reference to the fact-finding committee on Palestine appointed by the United Nations Special Assembly. Terms of reference of that committee are admittedly very wide, but in relation to the whole Palestine problem boycott is a side issue, and we do not think that any useful purpose would be served by bringing it before the committee, which will already be fully occupied in dealing with the fundamental issues involved.

3. Nor do we think that the question should be referred to any other United Nations agency. If, indeed boycotts are to be treated as political issues and if they or the situation which provoked them, are to be referred to the United Nations they would have to be brought before either the Assembly or the Security Council.

4. Boycotts are in fact usually instituted for political reasons and to remove the Arab League boycott from the scope of the International Trade Organisation on the ground that it was a political matter would probably mean that all future boycotts would have to be treated similarly. This would make a nonsense of Article 23.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61862

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83

E 4786

PALESTINE

5 JUN 1947

Registry  
Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

E 4786/347/31

Sir H. Alexander

Brid

Bagdad

4 97  
4 June 1947

Arab Boycott

Refer Bagdad tel 392 (E 3555/347/31)  
 State P. at. has only just been able to  
 give consideration to this memoire on subject  
 of Boycott. The reply regretting, that is not  
 a question on which Foreign Govt can afford  
 to take action without agreement of all members

Last Paper.

4393

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/ 8.0.  
 8/ B.O. 1

June 11

Tel.) Bagdad 514  
June 198) C.O.  
June 23(Action  
completed.)

(Index.)

9/16/47

11/16/47

Next Paper.

E 5145

32008 F.O.P.

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**Cypher/OTP**

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir H. Stonehewer Bird

No. 497

D. 10.30 a.m. 4th June, 1947.

4th June, 1947.

R. 2.20 p.m. 4th June, 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva  
United Kingdom Delegation New York  
Jedda Saving  
Beirut Saving  
Damascus Saving  
Jerusalem Saving  
Amman Saving  
Cairo Saving  
British Middle East Office Cairo Saving

FF FF FF FF

RESTRICTED

My telegram No. 392.

## Boycott

Owing to pressure of work Prime Minister has only just been able to give consideration to aide memoire on the subject of boycott. He has replied to Counsellor through Director General of Foreign Affairs regretting this is not a question on which Iraqi Government can afford to take action without agreement of all members of the Arab League.

2. Director General admitted that boycott was ineffective and was doing the Jews very little harm but the fact remained that it was regarded by Iraqi and Arab public opinion as one of the few weapons that could be used against the Zionists. Outcry would be terrific if any Arab Government abandoned it and Director General felt that there was no hope of this.

3. I fear that I can think of no method of persuading the Iraqis to abandon this attitude.

Foreign Office please pass to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva and United Kingdom Delegation New York as my telegrams Nos. 5 and 3 respectively.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation Geneva and  
United Kingdom Delegation New York]

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3148 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S.

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Draft. telegram  
to Baghdad

No 514

Date June 19

by pher

Draft. no. 1

by V. O.

OUT FILE

Immediate

Despatched

85

A parliamentary question  
has been put down for the  
23rd June, in the following  
terms:

Begin. To ask the Secretary  
of State for Foreign Affairs if  
he is aware that the Government  
of Iraq is refusing to allow  
goods to pass in transit through  
Iraq to Palestine; and what  
steps he proposes to take in  
order to prevent this clog on  
international trade. Ends.

~~2. Please let me know  
by immediate telegram whether  
2. I should be gratified for  
2. Please send me  
the facts, and any comment  
you may have, by immediate  
telegram.~~

H.B. 19/6

[Copy sent to Mr. Secretary]

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BAGDAD

No. 514.

D. 9.35. p.m. 19th June 1947.

19th June 1947.

\*\*\*\*\*

IMMEDIATE

A parliamentary question has been put down for the 23rd June, in the following terms:

Begins: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he is aware that the Government of Iraq is refusing to allow goods to pass in transit through Iraq to Palestine; and what steps he proposes to take in order to prevent this clog on international trade. Ends.

2. Please send me the facts, and any comment you may have, by immediate telegram.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat.]

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Reference: **FO** 371/61862

1947

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E 5145 87

PALESTINE

E 5145/347/31

Sir G. Clauson  
Colonial Office.  
to Mr. Garran

Dated 14th June, 1947.  
Received  
in Reg. 16th June, 1947

Arab Boycott

Refers to Foreign Office letters (E 3676/347/31) of 28th May and (E 4393/347/31) of 4th June enclosing proposed draft reply to Geneva telegram No. 458.

Gives comments on question of Arab States joining the I.T.O. and dropping boycott or staying out and continuing same.

Last Paper.

(Minutes.)

4796

References.

Mr. Higham (Colonial Office) who concurred in the terms of our telegram to Geneva (E 4393), tells me that, in order to avoid any further delay, he did not wait for Sir G. Clauson's return. He will himself discuss this question with Sir Gerard.

(Print.)

(J.E. Cable)  
17th June

(How disposed of.)

It is up to the Colonial Office to clear this up within their own department. If they want us to send a chaser to the telegram sent off on E 4393 no doubt they will let us know.

U.N. Department  
E.R. Department

for obs.

now see E 5352 from  
latest news of course  
5/6

(J.G.S. Beith)  
17th June.

Apart from the views strongly expressed in para. 2 that the Arab States ought in due course to be faced squarely with the choice between coming into the International Trade Organisation and dropping the boycott or staying outside and continuing it, the additional observations in this letter do not seem to me to amount to much. Our telegram to Geneva, on E 4393, which in any case has already gone off, does not make the point so forcefully, but it does make quite clear that we are opposed to any modification of the boycott Articles in the I.T.O. Charter to admit of "political boycotts".

As regards para. 4 of Sir G. Clauson's letter, we surely approve the proposal in para. 2 (b) of telegram No. 458 from Geneva (in E 4393) by implication. The Delegation only asked for the approval of the line indicated in para. 2 (c).

(Action  
completed.)

(Index.)

FC 2/4

16/6/47

Next Paper.

E 5355

31401 F.O.P.

In/

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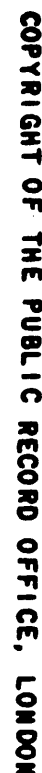
In any case the points which Sir G. Clauson makes are not really Colonial Office points, and it does not seem to me that a chaser to this telegram is necessary.

(I. P. Garraan)  
19th June, 1947.

HAB 24/6

87A

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88A

Turning now to the draft enclosed in your official letter, we agree with the first paragraph, but would have thought that you might equally approve the proposal in paragraph 2(b).

As regards paragraph 2 of your draft, while I admit that the wording of the Geneva telegram is a bit obscure, I rather doubt whether it was intended to mean that the Arab League boycott should now be raised with the appropriate political organ of the United Nations. I quite agree that it would be well to make it clear that they do not wish to raise the question of the boycott now with the Fact Finding Committee.

As regards paragraph 3, I should have thought that the right thing to say was that we do not think that the question of the boycott should be referred by us to any other United Nations agency either now or later. We might go on to say that we think that the Article should be maintained in its present form, that no comfort should be given to the Lebanese-Syrians in the form of a hint that when the Charter had entered into force they could evade the provisions of Article 23 by saying that the boycott was political and not economic, and that they should be faced squarely with the choice between the advantages of being members of the International Trade Organisation and obeying the rules, and the disadvantages of not being members and doing what they like. If this leads to their making a reservation it is just too bad, but it does not seem to us to matter in the last resort.

This

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~~I am~~ This would lead nicely to your paragraph 4 with which ~~I am~~ wholeheartedly in agreement, though I do not think that it was the intention at Geneva to suggest that if the Arab League boycott continued after the Charter entered into force the I.T.O. should refuse to take cognizance of it.

Yours ever

Grant Causon

(Sir Gerard Clauson)

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61862

24

E

E 5355 90

1947

PALESTINE

20 JUN

Registry  
Number

E 5355/947/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received  
in Registry

via H. Horekover  
 Bend.  
 Regd.  
 5-73  
 20 June  
 20

Arab Boycott Travel through Iraq.

Ref. FO 61 514 164/17/24/21

State Decision was made month ago by Higher  
 Supply Committee to effect that no goods shall  
 pass through Iraq from any source, or  
 transit to Palestine. Decision has not been  
 made public and is enforced by means of  
 internal administrative order under Customs  
 Dept.

Last Paper.

1-145

References.

(Minutes.)

by C.O. } with ref.  
 " B.O.T. }

H-13. 24/6

E.R. 20/6

M.E. 20/6

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

1/10 2/10  
 B.O. 4/10 with ref.  
 ✓ Incl 27

(Action  
completed.)

(Index.)

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Next Paper.

E 5382

30471 F.O.P

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CYPHER/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO:2

91

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir H Stonehewer Bird  
No: 573

D.9.30 a.m. 20th June 1947

20th June 1947

R.12.30 p.m. 20th June 1947

4 4 4 4 4

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

E 5355

E N D 20 JUN

Your telegram No:514.

Palestinian boycott.

Decision was made about a month ago by higher supply Committee to the effect that no (repeat no) goods shall pass through Iraq from any source in transit to Palestine. This decision has not been made public and is enforced by means of internal administrative order within Customs Department.

2. Most goods in transit to Palestine were consigned from Persia and this decision was made when Iraqis discovered that the goods destined for Palestine from Iraq were being sent to Persia and they will be consigned from there as of Persian origin. British Inspector General of Iraqi Customs informs me that the order is being very strongly enforced and that there is no way of evading it.

3. Transit trade from Iraq to Palestine in 1946 amounted to Iraqi dinars 278,000.

4. I consider that there is no hope of persuading the Iraqi Government to rescind this decision (see my telegram No:497).



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25

E

E 5382

PALESTINE

23rd JULY 1947

92

Registry Number } E 5382/347/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. 414 Del

Dated Geneva

Received in Registry } 756  
21 June  
25 -

Arabs League Boycott  
Refn total 695 (E 4393/347/31)  
Various questions of the Arab League  
Boycott / the L.O. and various  
points to be considered with regard  
to their boycotting goods.

Last Paper.

5-35-5

(Minutes.)

References.

copy B.O.T.  
D.O.  
E.B. Rep.  
M.E. Secretariat

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, B.O.T.  
C.O.  
✓ July 1  
Capt. Parker B.O.T.  
Comp. Sir J. Blaxland  
C.O.  
err.  
✓ 1st July P.T.O.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

6/22/47

Next Paper.

E 5463

30471 F.O.P

I am not altogether convinced  
by paragraph 7 (a) of this telegram. The  
object of our previous representations  
was to persuade the Arab governments to  
call off the boycott; it is not surprising  
that they failed. The object of the  
representations now suggested would be  
to put across the arguments in para 2 (c)  
of Geneva tel. no 458 (E 4393), with  
a view to persuading the Arab governments  
to take the risk of entering ITO despite  
the maintenance of Article 23. This  
/might

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might be worth doing before the  
 World Conference if, as seems likely,  
 no solution is found at the present  
 stage.

H.B. Bealey 26/6

I attach a minute of the meeting we had with  
 Mrs. Day, Barker & their dpts to Geneva, 25.6 & 26.6.  
 I suggest we send the letter to J. Parker to him first  
 for his comments before we send the other letters off.

C. T. Crowe 25/6

I agree.

H.B. 26/6

J.N.P.P. F.D. Minute. C. Crowe 26/6  
 — Parker & Crowe 25/6  
 R.O.T.

H.B. 23/7

92A

24th. M. Barker  
 C.K. Del  
 Geneva  
 from M. Crowe  
 enc

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Restricted  
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C.T.C.

27/6

Draft.

Chancery letter to  
Beirut,

From Eastern Dept.

Copy to:-

Damascus  
Cairo,  
U.K. Delegation,  
New York.

[ Suspended ]

93

June, 1947.

Dear Chancery,

With reference to Geneva telegram No.  
756 of June 21st about the Arab League  
- boycott and I.T.O. we enclose a copy of a  
letter to Geneva and a minute of <sup>a</sup>the meeting  
with Mousa Bey Mobarak which are self-  
explanatory. We shall be grateful for your  
views on the likelihood of an approach  
to the Arab Governments later in the year  
being successful. We are sending copies to  
Damascus, Cairo and U.K. Delegation, New  
York.

Yours ever,  
Eastern Dept.

W.B. 27/6

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CYPHER/OTP

94  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISTRIBUTION

FROM UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION GENEVA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No:756

21st June 1947

D.11.30 a.m. 21st June 1947

R.1.15 p.m. 21st June 1947

Repeated to Beirut

Damascus

Cairo (Embassy)

United Kingdom Delegation New York

E 5382

4 4 4 4

23<sup>rd</sup> JUN

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

NEUTRAL

E 411/11/11

Foreign Office please pass Important to Posts named.

Your telegram No:693: Arab League boycott.

We have discussed this with Harpham (late Commercial Secretary in Beirut) who is at present in Geneva.

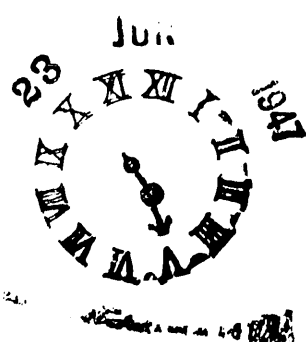
2. We note that you do not regard the boycott as a suitable matter for reference to the Fact-Finding Committee for the reason given in your paragraph 2. We would emphasise that we suggested it not because we thought it would result in a solution of the problem but because it seemed to provide a means whereby Lebanon-Syria could be reconciled to the inclusion of the present Article 23 in the Charter.

3. We are not sanguine that the arguments in paragraph 2(c) of our telegram will prevail on the Lebanese and Syrians here in Geneva, since they seem committed to the other Arab League countries either to secure deletion, or amendment in the sense they desire, of Article 23 or to maintain the reservation they made at Church House and at the drafting Committee in New York. As far as this Geneva meeting is concerned the probable outcome therefore is that the reservation will be maintained and the whole question shelved for consideration by the World Conference.

4. While it is conceivable that this delay might not prove disadvantageous, it seems to us likely that it will land us in an awkward situation, all the more so because here at Geneva we are dealing only with Lebanon-Syria, which are relatively reasonable and tractable, whereas at the World Conference the probability is that we shall have the whole Arab bloc headed by an intransigent Egypt.

5. At the World Conference we might ultimately be faced with the alternatives :-

(a) Article 23 will stand part of the Charter but the Arab League countries would agree to join I.T.O. only on the condition that they are permitted to enter a formal reservation with regard to it. We doubt whether other members of the World Conference would permit this and we are clear that they /



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they would be ill-advised to do so as (on the assumption that there are no other reservations in prospect) it would create a dangerous precedent.

(b) Article 23 will stand part of the Charter and the Arab League countries will not join I.T.O. when Mobarak and Jabbara saw Holmes (see paragraph 3 of our telegram No: 425) they professed that this would be the outcome unless they could secure deletion or amendment of Article 23.

6. The probable result in these circumstances would be that the Arab League countries would remain outside I.T.O. We imagine that as our political and physical hold on the Middle East diminishes we shall wish to improve and extend our economic position in the Arab League countries. If we are members of I.T.O. and they are not, the conditions for achieving this aim will be considerably more unfavourable than they would be otherwise.

7. Hence our desire to find a way in which the Arab League representative on the Preparatory Committee could withdraw from the extreme position which, at the League's instructions, it has hitherto adopted. We have again reviewed the possible ways of tackling this problem:-

(a) Further representations through diplomatic channels in the countries themselves. The various replies to Foreign Office telegram No: 819 to Cairo of 19th April makes it plain that this is unlikely to produce the desired result.

(b) Deletion of Article 23 from the Charter. There is something to be said for this, as it can be held that the trading rights of members in the territory of other members are substantially safeguarded by Article 14 (general most-favoured-nation treatment) article 15 (national treatment) Article 16 (freedom of transit) and other Articles of the commercial policy chapter. Redress for contravention of these articles can be had by recourse to Article 35, which also provides for consultation in cases where a member considers that its interests are injured by the action of another member. We doubt however whether other members of the Preparatory Committee would agree to this on the grounds (1) that Article 23 provides the only explicit safeguard in the Charter against officially-sponsored campaigns designed to reduce consumption of imports from a particular member and (11) that they would not wish to appear to give way to the Arab League countries on this point. For views expressed in discussion here see paragraphs 5 to 7 of our telegram 425.

(c) General acceptance of the view that Article 23 does not apply to the Arab League boycott of Zionist goods, on the grounds mentioned in paragraph 7 of our telegram 425. The argument that Palestine would not be a member country as such does not seem to us valid while United Kingdom remains the mandatory power, since under Article 88 the United Kingdom will accept the Charter "in respect of its metropolitan territory and of any other territory for which it has international responsibility" (except adjuncts proper) i.e. we should be accepting in respect of Palestine. The other argument (that the boycott is directed not against the goods of a territory but of a group) also seems fallacious because its practical effect would be to discourage the consumption of the products of a member country (the United Kingdom /

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Kingdom, in so far as United Kingdom membership includes Palestine) in the territories of other members (the Arab League countries). The United Kingdom would be bound to protest against this contravention of Article 23.

(d) Some formula which, however unsatisfactory in itself, would have the effect of removing "political" boycotts from the scope of I.T.O., thereby enabling the Arab League countries to accept the Charter with Article 23 still in it.

8. Mobarak is visiting England as the guest of the British Council, leaving Geneva according to present plans on Monday 23rd June, it occurs to us that this would provide an excellent opportunity for him to be seen on the question on the question of the boycott. We imagine that you would not feel able to evolve anything on the lines of paragraph 7(d) above but you may be able to make something of paragraph 2(c) of our telegram No:458, and this put to him in London might be more effective than a similar approach here and would at any rate do no harm. Harpham has given Mobarak a letter of introduction to Greenhill, but beyond this we leave you to make any further arrangements you may consider desirable for interviewing Mobarak on the subject of the Arab League boycott.

[Repeated to Beirut, Damascus, Cairo, United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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✓ 17: Bealey.

97

would you have a  
look at this which has  
just arrived from the  
D.O.D. I have to go  
to a meeting now but  
I will ring you Sat-  
4.

c T. Crowl  
26/4

Mr. Brown.

See marginal comments, and  
minutes on E 5382. H-13 24/6

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Tele No. .  
WHITEHALL 5140.

Any reply to this communication should quote the following reference:



BOARD OF TRADE,  
MILLBANK, 98  
LONDON, S.W.1

Your Ref. ....

25th June, 1947.

Dear Crowe,

I am enclosing a copy of a note which I have produced for use in connection with the meeting which has been arranged here in McGregor's room, at 10.30 a.m. on Friday morning, with Mousa Bey Mobarak.

I shall be glad if you would let me know as soon as possible if the Foreign Office have any points on this note. I should then also like to discuss with you, in the light of the telegrams which have come in from Geneva, about this visit, whether the Foreign Office would, after all, wish to be represented at our meeting with this gentleman.

Yours sincerely,

*G. Parker*

C. T. Crowe, Esq.,  
Foreign Office,  
Whitehall,  
S.W.1.

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99

Note on I.T.O. points arising in connection with the visit of  
Mousa Bey Mobarak to C.R.T. Department

It is not at all clear whether Mobarak will take any initiative to raise I.T.O. points with the Department when he comes to see us on Friday. Telegram No. 756 from Geneva suggests, that this visit would provide an excellent opportunity for us (and/or the Foreign Office) to raise with him the question of the Arab League boycott in relation to Article 23 of the Draft Charter. On the other hand there is a suggestion in a later telegram from Geneva (No. 773) (presumably drafted by Mr. Harpham) that Mobarak will not wish to raise I.T.O. matters with us in London. On the whole, it is suggested that we in the Board of Trade should take no initiative as regards the Arab League boycott unless Mobarak raises the matter with us. In any case, it is, of course, important that we should maintain the general principle that discussion on Charter matters should at this stage be confined to Geneva. We should not, therefore, if it can be avoided, give Mobarak any opportunity to assume that he will have any success in re-opening here issues which have been discussed in Geneva and on which either provisional agreement has been reached there or on which a decision has been deliberately deferred until the World Conference.

2. The two points on the I.T.O. Charter discussions which Mobarak is likely to raise with us are:-

- (a) the possible extension of existing preferential areas and the creation of limited free trade areas, short of full Customs Unions,
- (b) the relevance of Article 23 ("Boycotts") of the draft I.T.O. Charter to the Arab League boycott of Zionist goods.

Regional Preferences

3. As regards regional preferences the general position is that the charter as at present drafted recognises the status of -

- (a) full Customs Unions (Article 38(2))
- (b) arrangements to facilitate frontier traffic (Ibid)
- (c) existing preferential arrangements (which are, however, to be "eliminated" by negotiations) (Article 24).

In addition the Charter provides (Article 38(4)) that "there may in exceptional circumstances be justification for new preferential arrangements requiring an exception to the principles of Ch.V" It is now proposed in Geneva that this paragraph should be amended as shown below and should become a new paragraph 3 to Article 14.

" The Members recognise that there may be justification for new preferential arrangements, including arrangements among members belonging to an economic region, having in view the development of industries which would otherwise be handicapped by the lack of a sufficiently large market, and that in exceptional circumstances the Organisation may approve a departure from the provisions of this Article. Any such exception shall be considered by the Organisation in the light of the relevant provisions of this Charter, the considerations presented by the Members contemplating the arrangement, the views presented by other Members which would be substantially affected by the proposed arrangement and such criteria as to productivity and other factors as the Organisation may establish, taking into account the stage of economic development or reconstruction of the Members concerned."

4. It is our view that a provision on these lines is adequate to meet the Lebanese pressure for the recognition of the right to form new regional preferential arrangements, as far as that desire can be met without introducing into the Charter provisions which are inconsistent with its general purposes. The Lebanese are apparently not satisfied with this recognition (which would appear to them grudging and hedged around with conditions) of their right to form preferential arrangements with their co-Members of the Arab League. We should, however, if necessary refer to this new Article 14(3) as the utmost limit to which we think it is reasonable to go in meeting this point about new preferences.

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5. The Boycott Article

The question of the "Boycotts" Article of the Charter is more difficult. The relevant Article (23) reads as follows:-

"No Member shall encourage, support or participate in boycotts or other campaigns which are designed to discourage directly or indirectly the consumption within its territory of products of any specific Member country or countries on grounds of origin, or the sale of products for consumption within other Member countries on grounds of destination"

The main purpose of the Article is to prohibit boycotts with an economic purpose, i.e. as a substitute for tariff protection or quantitative restrictions. It is clear that there is a case on merits for some provision of this kind. There has been considerable difficulty in deciding how far this embargo on boycotts should go (e.g. whether a Government-sponsored campaign to smoke less tobacco is reprehensible or not under the terms of the Article).

6. The representatives of Syria and the Lebanon claim, however, that the provisions of Article 23 do not or should not apply to the boycott which the Arab League States are maintaining on Zionist goods. To meet this difficulty various solutions have been proposed.

- (a) The total exclusion of the Article from the Charter There is something to be said for this course, since, as many boycotts are political rather than economic in character, there is a real danger that the retention of this Article may bring "irrelevant" political considerations into the I.T.O. field. On the other hand, a number of influential countries feel that the Boycott Article should be retained in something like its present form and would resent surrender on this point in the face of Arab League pressure.
- (b) An arrangement of the Article to exclude "political boycotts" from its scope. Apart from general objections to a reservation of this kind, it has not so far been possible to draft a satisfactory saving clause
- (c) A general "saver" to make the Article inoperative "in exceptional circumstances" to be determined at the discretion of the party imposing the boycott. A proviso of this kind might provoke similar amendments to other articles of the Charter to which various countries take objection for one reason or another. Any such tendency might well undermine the structure of the Charter to an irreparable extent.
- (d) A reservation by a particular country or by particular countries to the Article. There are real and obvious dangers about this course which would be an open invitation to other countries to register similar reservations.

7. The present position is that the Lebanon delegates have asked for deletion of the Article and are meanwhile taking up position (d). It is probable that the issue will not be decided during the present round at Geneva, i.e. that the Article will stand part of the Charter and that Lebanon will maintain its reservation. In some ways this is satisfactory, but it is clear that the issue will almost certainly arise in more acute form at the World Conference when other Arab League countries, including Egypt, may be expected to press strongly for the deletion or amendment of this Article.

8. The present attitude of the U.K. Delegation at Geneva is to stand firm on the Charter text, at least until some acceptable amendment has been put forward. In the meantime, they are referring the Lebanon to the nullification and impairment provisions of the Draft Charter (Article 35) and to the provisions of Article 37 (e) permitting the adoption or enforcement by any Member of measures inconsistent with Ch.V of the Charter "in time of war or other emergency in international relations, relating to the protection of the essential security interests of a Member". The precise proposals which the U.K. Delegation in Geneva suggested in Telegram No. 756 Neutral from Geneva to Foreign Office that we might explore with Mobarah was this suggestion that the general nullification and impairment provisions of the Draft Charter and in exceptional cases "the general escape clause" to Ch.V should be adequate safeguards to permit the Arab League States to take the action which they consider necessary in relation to Zionist goods without committing a fundamental breach of the provisions of the Draft

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Draft Charter. The Geneva Delegation feel that an approach to Mobarak on these lines in London might be more effective than a similar approach there and would, at any rate, do no harm.

9. There is an alternative approach to this problem which has been considered to some extent in Geneva and has not found favour there. It could be argued that the Arab League boycott would not fall within the terms of Article 23 of the Draft Charter provided that it were directed, in form at least, against Zionist goods, as such, from whatever source consigned, as distinct from goods imported from a specific country (i.e. Palestine). From the point of view of the U.K. this would be an embarrassing solution because we would probably feel obliged to raise the matter with I.T.O. on the grounds that there was an effective boycott of goods produced in a territory for which the U.K. has international responsibility. But provided the Arab League boycott did not operate on a territorial basis it is by no means clear that our objection could be sustained.

10. The Lebanese delegates at Geneva are taking the line that it will be impossible for them to join I.T.O. if they do not receive satisfaction on Article 23. It would obviously be most undesirable that the Arab League States should remain outside I.T.O. for this reason and it will certainly be necessary to find some means of satisfying the Lebanon and other Arab countries on this point. It seems very doubtful whether they will accept the existence of Articles 35 and 37 (e) as sufficient safeguard to meet their difficulties about this matter. It may be expected that certain other countries (notably India) will support the Arab League case on this point. From the point of view of the U.K. the best solution might be to omit the Article from the Charter altogether; it certainly is not vital to our interests. On the other hand, as indicated above there may well be considerable opposition from other quarters to this proposal. In all the circumstances it would appear to be inadvisable for us to take the initiative in tackling this issue with Mobarak in London but if he raises the matter we might follow the suggestion put forward by Geneva and attempt to convince him that Article 23 as drafted would not, in the context of the other Charter provisions referred to above, provide any real obstacle to acceptance of the I.T.O. Charter by the Lebanon and the other Arab League States.

25th June, 1947.

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C.T.C.

27/6

Draft.

Mr. Parker,  
Board of Trade.

(from C.T. Cove)

copy  
Sir S. Clauson  
C.O.

For Mr. Beeley  
London

OUT FILE

102

1 July  
June, 1947.

Dear Parker,

As you know Mousa Bey Mabarak came to see Beeley and me at the Foreign Office on Friday and I enclose a copy of the minute of the meeting and of the draft letter that I propose to send to Tim Marten, which are, I think, self-explanatory. I would be grateful for your comments.

I am sending a copy of this to Clauson.

Yours sincerely

H.B. 27/6

(Sgd.) C.T. Cove.

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OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

103

1st July, 1947.

(E.5382/347/31)

*Confidential*

Dear Parker,

As you know Mousa Bey Mubarak came to see Beesley and me at the Foreign Office on Friday and I enclose a copy of the minute of the meeting and of the draft letter that I propose to send to Tim Marten, which are, I think, self-explanatory.

I would be grateful for your comments.

I am sending a copy of this to Clauson.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd.) (C.T. Crowe)

G. Parker, Esq.,  
Board of Trade.

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Mr. F.W. Marten, M.C.  
U.K. Delegation,  
Geneva / to I.T.O.

From Mr. C.T. Crowe.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

July, 1947.

Your telegram No. 756 about the Arab League boycott and the visit of Mousa Bey Mobarak to the U.K.

After discussion with the Board of Trade who talked the matter over with Harpham we came to the conclusion that it would be preferable if we did not take the initiative in raising the matter with Mousa Bey Monarak when he was here. At the end of his interview with the Board of Trade, however, in which they talked about Anglo-Lebanese trade questions Mousa Bey Mobarak expressed the wish to come to the Foreign Office and so Beeley and I saw him on Friday June 27th. I enclose a copy of a minute I did of the meeting.

I imagine there will be nothing new for you in his views on the question of regional preferences and there does not seem to be any action required. You will see that Mobarak studiously kept away from the boycott question and when we did raise it took the line that he hoped this would be less pressing by the time we came to the World Conference. We are inclined to share this hope, but I am afraid it is not something on which we can rely. It seems to us that we should not try and take any further initiative on this matter at the moment, but we might bear in mind the desirability of further representations in the Arab capitals before we come to the World Conference. Our previous representations were aimed at persuading the Arab Governments to call off the boycott. It was not surprising that we failed. We might perhaps have some success later in the

/year

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Parker has agreed this letter and you may perhaps wish to circulate it to the delegation.

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C.T.C.  
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Draft.

FW.  
Mr. Marten,  
U.K. Delegation,  
Geneva. [to I.T.O.]

C.T.  
From Mr. Crowe.  
A

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+ 6 fairsies } 105

June, 1947.

Your telegram No. 756 about the Arab League boycott and the visit of Mousa Bey Mobarak to the U.K. After discussion with the Board of Trade who talked the matter over with Harpham we came to the conclusion that it would be preferable if we did not take the initiative in raising the matter with Mousa Bey Mobarak when he was here. At the end of his interview with the Board of Trade, however, in which they talked about Anglo-Lebanese trade questions Mousa Bey Mobarak expressed the wish to come to the Foreign Office and so Beeley and I saw him on Friday June 27th. I enclose a copy of a minute I did of the meeting. <sup>this was a</sup> As regards the question of regional preferences I imagine there will be nothing new for you in all this and there does not seem to be any action required. You will see that Mobarak studiously kept away from the boycott question and when we did raise it took the line that he hoped this would be less <sup>pressing</sup> ~~present~~ by the time we came to the World Conference. We are inclined to share this hope, but <sup>I am afraid</sup> it is not something on which we can rely. <sup>It seems to us</sup> ~~Our general view is~~ that we should not try and take any further initiative on this matter at the moment, but we might bear the desirability <sup>in mind</sup> of further representations <sup>in the Arab capitals</sup> ~~to the countries themselves~~ before we come to the World Conference. Our previous representations were aimed at persuading the Arab

Governments/

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Governments to call off the boycott. It was not surprising that we failed. We might perhaps have some success <sup>more limited objective using</sup> with the arguments used in paragraph 2(c) of your telegram No. 458 <sup>dates in</sup>

As for the other alternatives given in your telegram No. 756 we confess that we are in some difficulty. The most satisfactory course would probably be, as you suggest, <sup>to delete</sup> that the whole clause, ~~should be deleted~~ but it seems unlikely that the other countries will agree. If this and the approach to the Arab countries both fail <sup>in</sup> the next best would seem to be <sup>might by a judge</sup> to have some formula to remove political boycott from the scope of I.T.O., though I still think that this would provide a let-out for every boycott and would ~~tend to~~ make a nonsense of Article 23. Our general view here, however, is that, since we are unlikely to get any further at Geneva, ~~that~~ we should leave the matter over for further discussion when the Delegation return.

We are sending copies of this letter and minute to the people to whom you repeated your telegram No. 756 and we would welcome their preliminary views on the likelihood of a further approach at a later date succeeding.

Parker has ~~agreed the terms of~~ this letter <sup>perhaps with</sup> and you may circulate it to the delegation.

H13.29/6

his year (especially if the U.N. Assembly gets somewhere in Palestine)

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A.5582/547/31.

July, 1947.

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Your telegram No. 756 about the Arab League boycott and the visit of Mousa Bey Mobarak to the U.K.

Mr. P.W.Marten, M.C.  
U.K.Delegation,  
Geneva /to I.T.O.

From Mr.C.T.Crowe.

After discussion with the Board of Trade who talked the matter over with Harpham we came to the conclusion that it would be preferable if we did not take the initiative in raising the matter with Mousa Bey Mobarak when he was here. At the end of his interview with the Board of Trade, however, in which they talked about Anglo-Lebanese trade questions Mousa Bey Mobarak expressed the wish to come to the Foreign Office and so Bealey and I saw him on Friday June 27th. I enclose a copy of a minute I did of the meeting.

I imagine there will be nothing new for you in his views on the question of regional preferences and there does not seem to be any action required. You will see that Mobarak studiously kept away from the boycott question and when we did raise it took the line that he hoped this would be less pressing by the time we came to the World Conference. We are inclined to share this hope, but I am afraid it is not something on which we can rely. It seems to us that we should not try and take any further initiative on this matter at the moment, but we might bear in mind the desirability of further representations in the Arab capitals before we come to the World Conference. Our previous representations were aimed at persuading the Arab Governments to call off the boycott. It was not surprising that we failed. We might perhaps have some success later in the

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(especially if the United Nations Assembly gets somewhere in Palestine) with a more limited objective using the arguments in paragraph 2(c) of your telegram No. 458.

As for the other alternatives given in your telegram No. 756 we confess that we are in some difficulty. The most satisfactory course would probably be, as you suggest, to delete the whole clause, but it seems unlikely that the other countries will agree. If this and the approach to the Arab countries both fail we might try and produce some formula to remove political boycotts from the scope of I.T.O., though I still think that this would provide a let-out for every boycott and would make a nonsense of Article 25. Our general view here, however, is, that, since we are unlikely to get any further at Geneva, we should leave the matter over for further discussion when the Delegation return.

We are sending copies of this letter and minute to the people to whom you repeated your telegram No. 756 and we would welcome their preliminary views on the likelihood of a further approach at a later date succeeding.

Parker has agreed this letter and you may perhaps wish to circulate it to the delegation.

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**Secret.**  
**Confidential.**  
**Restricted.**  
**Open.**

27/6

Minute

~~with four copies.~~

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8. (not indft. form)

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June, 1947.

Mousa Bey Mobarak saw the Board of Trade ~~this morning~~ *on Friday, June 27<sup>th</sup>* to discuss the question of Anglo-Lebanese trade. At the end of the meeting he expressed a wish to come to the Foreign Office and he accordingly saw Mr. Beeley and myself.

Mousa Bey Mobarak did not, as we expected, wish to talk about the question of Article 23 and the Arab League boycott at all but rather to expound the Arab League case for regional preferences. Mobarak did not say anything new. The burden of his remarks was that the Arab States were poor countries, that they had but recently been parts of one state, and that it was essential for them to trade among each other. They would not be able to adhere to the Charter unless there was some provision in it which allowed for regional preferences between the members of the Arab League. He went on to say that some such provision would be very much in the United Kingdom's interest. The Arabs were good merchants; they were prepared to sell their raw materials to Europe and they would also <sup>have</sup> dollars from their pipeline and oil. Europe would not be able to supply goods for some time yet and the Arabs, being ~~the~~ merchants, would inevitably turn to the source from which they could obtain goods, namely the United States. Once the old trade relations with the U.K. and Europe were broken it would be difficult to re-establish them. The United Kingdom had great/

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great prestige and interest in the Middle East and should do all it could to help the Middle Eastern countries. (This second argument, however, does not necessarily follow <sup>from his point</sup> since while it might be possible for the Arab states to institute regional preferences among themselves their being able to discriminate between Europe and America is a very different matter.)

Mousa Bey Mobarak went on to say that he had discussed this fully with Mr. Helmore and other members of the U.K. Delegation in Geneva who were aware of his views and they had apparently explained that while we were committed to the Americans in the matter of preferences they would welcome his putting forward the Arab point of view. Mousa Bey Mobarak said that unfortunately Lebanon was a small country and did not carry much weight with the Americans unless they could obtain U.K. and French support. He went on to say that he knew the question was still being considered in sub-committee at Geneva with a view to producing a compromise, he hoped he would be able to accept this <sup>compromise</sup> himself, but he was doubtful whether he would be able to carry his Government and the Governments of the other Arab states.

He was at pains here, as throughout, to point out that he himself was moderate but that there were a lot of wild men and extreme nationalists in the other Arab states and that we would not have such an easy time at the World Conference. He also pointed out that Lebanon was the only Christian state in the League and that they often had/

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had to fall in with policies with which they did not themselves agree or which indeed, as in the case of the boycott, were against their own interests.

We did not enter into discussion with Mousa Bey Mobarak nor indeed did he expect it. We pointed out that our delegation in Geneva were fully aware of the views of the Arab League and that they were doing their best to meet them, but that he must realise that this was a cardinal point with the Americans and that the purpose of the Conference was to reduce tariffs and preferences not to start a whole new set of them. We said he could be sure that we were anxious to do what we could for the Arab countries.

As he was leaving I said that I hoped he would be able to agree with us that the position of the Arab League as regards the Zionist boycott was already sufficiently covered in Articles 35 and 37(e) of the Charter and that when he returned to Syria he would be able to persuade <sup>the</sup> people of this. He smiled wryly and seemed dubious. He expressed the hope that, by the time of the World Conference, some solution of the Zionist problem might be in sight and that the boycott might not then be such an active issue.

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MINUTE.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

July, 1947. 109

Mousa Bey Mobarak saw the Board of Trade on Friday, 27th June to discuss the question of Anglo-Lebanese trade. At the end of the meeting he expressed a wish to come to the Foreign Office and he accordingly saw Mr. Beeley and myself.

Mousa Bey Mobarak did not, as we expected, wish to talk about the question of Article 23 and the Arab League boycott at all but rather to expound the Arab League case for regional preferences. Mobarak did not say anything new. The burden of his remarks was that the Arab States were poor countries, and they had but recently been parts of one state, and that it was essential for them to trade among each other. They would not be able to adhere to the Charter unless there was some provision in it which allowed for regional preferences between the members of the Arab League. He went on to say that some such provisions would be very much in the United Kingdom's interest. The Arabs were good merchants; they were prepared to sell their raw materials to Europe and they would also have dollars from their pipeline and oil. Europe would not be able to supply goods for some time yet and the Arabs, being merchants, would inevitably turn to the source from which they could obtain goods, namely the United States. Once the old trade relations with the U.K. and Europe were broken it would be difficult to re-establish them. The United Kingdom had great prestige and interests in the Middle East and should do all it could to help the Middle Eastern countries. (This second argument, however, does not necessarily follow from this first, since while it might be possible for the Arab states to institute regional preferences among themselves their being able to discriminate between Europe and America is a very different matter.)

Mousa Bey Mobarak went on to say that he had discussed this fully with Mr. Helmore and other members of the U.K. Delegation in Geneva who were aware of his views and they had apparently explained that while we were committed to the Americans in the matter of preferences they would welcome his putting forward the Arab point of view. Mousa Bey Mobarak said that unfortunately Lebanon was a small country and did not carry much weight with the Americans unless they could obtain U.K. and French support. He went on to say that he knew the question was still being considered in sub-committee at Geneva with a view to producing a compromise, he hoped he would be able to accept this compromise himself, but he was doubtful whether he would be able to carry his Government and the Governments of the other Arab states.

He was at pains here, as throughout, to point out that he himself was moderate but that there were a lot of wild men and extreme nationalists in the other Arab states and that we would not have such an easy time at the World Conference. He also pointed out that Lebanon was the only Christian state in the League and that they often had to fall in with policies with which they did not themselves agree or which indeed, as in the case of the boycott, were against their own interests.

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